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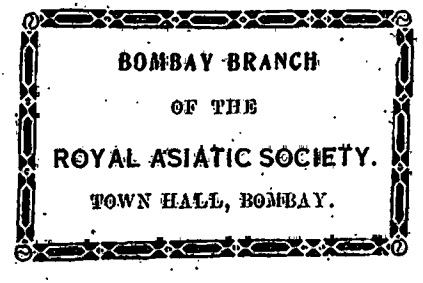

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A HISTORY

OF

CARICATURE AND GROTESQUE

In Literature and Art.

A HISTORY

OF

CARICATURE & GROTESQUE

In Literature and Art.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.,

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PREFACE.

I HAVE felt ſome difficulty in ſelecting a title for the contents of the following pages, in which it was, in fact, my deſign to give, as far as may be done within ſuch moderate limits, and in as popular a manner as ſuch information can eaſily be imparted, a general view of the Hiſtory of Comic Literature and Art. Yet the word comic ſeems to me hardly to expreſs all the parts of the ſubject which I have ſought to bring together in my book. Moreover, the field of this hiſtory is very large, and, though I have only taken as my theme one part of it, it was neceſſary to circumſcribe even that, in ſome degree; and my plan, therefore, is to follow it chiefly through thoſe branches which have contributed moſt towards the formation of modern comic and ſatiric literature and art in our own iſland.

Thus,

Thus, as the comic literature of the middle ages to a very great extent, and comic art in a conſiderable degree alſo, were founded upon, or rather aroſe out of, thoſe of the Romans which had preceded them, it ſeemed deſirable to give a comprehenſive hiſtory of this branch of literature and art as it was cultivated among the peoples of antiquity. Literature and art in the middle ages preſented a certain unity of general character, ariſing, probably, from the uniformity of the influence of the Roman element of ſociety, modified only by its lower degree of intenſity at a greater diſtance from the centre, and by ſecondary cauſes attendant upon it. To underſtand the literature of any one country in Weſtern Europe, eſpecially during what we may term the feudal period—and the remark applies to art equally—it is neceſſary to make ourſelves acquainted with the whole hiſtory of literature in Weſtern Europe during that time. The peculiarities in different countries naturally became more marked in the progreſs of ſociety, and more ſtrongly individualiſed; but it was not till towards the cloſe of the feudal period that the literature of each of theſe different countries was becoming more entirely its own. At that period the plan I have formed reſtricts itſelf, according to the

view

view ſtated above. Thus, the ſatirical literature of the Reformation and pictorial caricature had their cradle in Germany, and, in the earlier half of the ſixteenth century, carried their influence largely into France and England; but from that time any influence of German literature on theſe two countries ceaſes. Modern ſatirical literature has its models in France during the ſixteenth century, and the direct influence of this literature in France upon Engliſh literature continued during that and the ſucceeding century, but no further. Political caricature roſe to importance in France in the ſixteenth century, and was tranſplanted to Holland in the ſeventeenth century, and until the beginning of the eighteenth century England owed its caricature, indirectly or directly, to the French and the Dutch; but after that time a purely Engliſh ſchool of caricature was formed, which was entirely independent of Continental caricaturiſts.

There are two ſenſes in which the word hiſtory may be taken in regard to literature and art. It has been uſually employed to ſignify a chronological account of authors or artiſts and their works, though this comes more properly under the title of biography and bibliography. But there is another and a very different application

application of the word, and this is the meaning which I attach to it in the preſent volume. During the middle ages, and for ſome period after (in ſpecial branches), literature—I mean poetry, ſatire, and popular literature of all kinds—belonged to ſociety, and not to the individual authors, who were but workmen who gained a living by ſatisfying ſociety's wants; and its changes in form or character depended all upon the varying progreſs, and therefore changing neceſſities, of ſociety itſelf. This is the reaſon why, eſpecially in the earlier periods, nearly the whole maſs of the popular—I may, perhaps, be allowed to call it the ſocial literature of the middle ages, is anonymous; and it was only at rare intervals that ſome individual roſe and made himſelf a great name by the ſuperiority of his talents. A certain number of writers of fabliaux put their names to their compoſitions, probably becauſe they were names of writers who had gained the reputation of telling better or racier ſtories than many of their fellows. In ſome branches of literature—as in the ſatirical literature of the ſixteenth century—ſociety ſtill exerciſed this kind of influence over it; and although its great monuments owe everything to the peculiar genius of their authors, they were produced under the preſſure of ſocial circumſtances.

cumſtances. To trace all theſe variations in literature connected with ſociety, to deſcribe the influences of ſociety upon literature and of literature upon ſociety, during the progreſs of the latter, appears to me to be the true meaning of the word hiſtory, and it is in this ſenſe that I take it.

This will explain why my hiſtory of the different branches of popular literature and art ends at very different periods. The groteſque and ſatirical ſculpture, which adorned the eccleſiaſtical buildings, ceaſed with the middle ages. The ſtory-books, as a part of this ſocial literature, came down to the ſixteenth century, and the hiſtory of the jeſt-books which aroſe out of them cannot be conſidered to extend further than the beginning of the ſeventeenth; for, to give a liſt of jeſt-books ſince that time would be to compile a catalogue of books made by bookſellers for ſale, copied from one another, and, till recently, each more contemptible than its predeceſſor. The ſchool of ſatirical literature in France, at all events as far as it had any influence in England, laſted no longer than the earlier part of the ſeventeenth century. England can hardly be ſaid to have had a ſchool of ſatirical literature, with the exception of its comedy, which belongs properly to the

ſeventeenth century; and its caricature belongs eſpecially to the laſt century and to the earlier part of the preſent, beyond which it is not a part of my plan to carry it.

Theſe few remarks will perhaps ſerve to explain what ſome may conſider to be defects in my book; and with them I venture to truſt it to the indulgence of its readers. It is a ſubject which will have ſome novelty for the Engliſh reader, for I am not aware that we have any previous book devoted to it. At all events, it is not a mere compilation from other people's labours.

In concluſion, I ought, perhaps, to ſtate that the chapters on the Hiſtory of Caricature and Groteſque in Art were firſt printed in the *Art-Journal* during the two paſt years, but they only form a portion of the preſent volume, and they have been conſiderably modified and enlarged.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

Sydney Street, Brompton,
Dec. 1864.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

ORIGIN OF CARICATURE AND GROTESQUE—SPIRIT OF CARICATURE IN EGYPT—MONSTERS: PYTHON AND GORGON—GREECE—THE DIONYSIAC CEREMONIES, AND ORIGIN OF THE DRAMA—THE OLD COMEDY—LOVE OF PARODY—PARODIES ON SUBJECTS TAKEN FROM GRECIAN MYTHOLOGY: THE VISIT TO THE LOVER; APOLLO AT DELPHI—THE PARTIALITY FOR PARODY CONTINUED AMONG THE ROMANS: THE FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS 1

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE STAGE IN ROME—USES OF THE MASK AMONG THE ROMANS—SCENES FROM ROMAN COMEDY—THE SANNIO AND MIMUS—THE ROMAN DRAMA—THE ROMAN SATIRISTS—CARICATURE—ANIMALS INTRODUCED IN THE CHARACTERS OF MEN—THE PIGMIES, AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO CARICATURE; THE FARM-YARD; THE PAINTER'S STUDIO; THE PROCESSION—POLITICAL CARICATURE IN POMPEII; THE GRAFFITI 23

CHAPTER III.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MIDDLE AGES—THE ROMAN MIMI CONTINUED TO EXIST—THE TEUTONIC AFTER-DINNER ENTERTAINMENTS—CLERICAL SATIRES: ARCHBISHOP HERIGER AND THE DREAMER; THE SUPPER OF THE SAINTS—TRANSITION FROM ANCIENT TO MEDIÆVAL ART—TASTE FOR MONSTROUS ANIMALS, DRAGONS, ETC.; CHURCH OF SAN FEDELE, AT COMO—SPIRIT OF CARICATURE AND LOVE OF GROTESQUE AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS—GROTESQUE FIGURES OF DEMONS—NATURAL TENDENCY OF THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL ARTISTS TO DRAW IN CARICATURE—EXAMPLES FROM EARLY MANUSCRIPTS AND SCULPTURES . 40

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

THE DIABOLICAL IN CARICATURE—MEDIÆVAL LOVE OF THE LUDICROUS —CAUSES WHICH MADE IT INFLUENCE THE NOTIONS OF DEMONS— STORIES OF THE PIOUS PAINTER AND THE ERRING MONK—DARK-NESS AND UGLINESS CARICATURED—THE DEMONS IN THE MIRACLE PLAYS—THE DEMON OF NOTRE DAME 61

CHAPTER V.

EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS IN MEDIÆVAL SATIRE—POPULARITY OF FABLES; ODO DE CIRINGTON—REYNARD THE FOX—BURNELLUS AND FAUVEL—THE CHARIVARI—LE MONDE BESTORNÉ—ENCAUSTIC TILES —SHOEING THE GOOSE, AND FEEDING PIGS WITH ROSES—SATIRICAL SIGNS; THE MUSTARD MAKER 75

CHAPTER VI.

THE MONKEY IN BURLESQUE AND CARICATURE—TOURNAMENTS AND SINGLE COMBATS—MONSTROUS COMBINATIONS OF ANIMAL FORMS— CARICATURES ON COSTUME—THE HAT—THE HELMET—LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES—THE GOWN, AND ITS LONG SLEEVES 95

CHAPTER VII.

PRESERVATION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE MIMUS AFTER THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE—THE MINSTREL AND JOGELOUR—HISTORY OF POPULAR STORIES—THE FABLIAUX—ACCOUNT OF THEM—THE CONTES DEVOTS 106

CHAPTER VIII.

CARICATURES OF DOMESTIC LIFE—STATE OF DOMESTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES—EXAMPLES OF DOMESTIC CARICATURE FROM THE CARVINGS OF THE MISERERES—KITCHEN SCENES—DOMESTIC BRAWLS —THE FIGHT FOR THE BREECHES—THE JUDICIAL DUEL BETWEEN MAN AND WIFE AMONG THE GERMANS—ALLUSIONS TO WITCH-CRAFT—SATIRES ON THE TRADES: THE BAKER, THE MILLER, THE WINE-PEDLAR AND TAVERN KEEPER, THE ALE-WIFE, ETC. . . . 118

CHAPTER IX.

GROTESQUE FACES AND FIGURES—PREVALENCE OF THE TASTE FOR UGLY AND GROTESQUE FACES—SOME OF THE POPULAR FORMS DERIVED FROM ANTIQUITY: THE TONGUE LOLLING OUT, AND THE

PAGE

DISTORTED MOUTH—HORRIBLE SUBJECTS: THE MAN AND THE SERPENTS—ALLEGORICAL FIGURES: GLUTTONY AND LUXURY—OTHER REPRESENTATIONS OF CLERICAL GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS—GROTESQUE FIGURES OF INDIVIDUALS, AND GROTESQUE GROUPS—ORNAMENTS OF THE BORDERS OF BOOKS—UNINTENTIONAL CARICATURE; THE MOTE AND THE BEAM 144

CHAPTER X.

SATIRICAL LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES—JOHN DE HAUTEVILLE AND ALAN DE LILLE—GOLIAS AND THE GOLIARDS—THE GOLIARDIC POETRY—TASTE FOR PARODY—PARODIES ON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS—POLITICAL CARICATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES—THE JEWS OF NORWICH—CARICATURE REPRESENTATIONS OF COUNTRIES—LOCAL SATIRE—POLITICAL SONGS AND POEMS 159

CHAPTER XI.

MINSTRELSY A SUBJECT OF BURLESQUE AND CARICATURE—CHARACTER OF THE MINSTRELS—THEIR JOKES UPON THEMSELVES AND UPON ONE ANOTHER—VARIOUS MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS REPRESENTED IN THE SCULPTURES OF THE MEDIÆVAL ARTISTS—SIR MATTHEW GOURNAY AND THE KING OF PORTUGAL—DISCREDIT OF THE TABOR AND BAGPIPES—MERMAIDS 188

CHAPTER XII.

THE COURT FOOL—THE NORMANS AND THEIR GABS—EARLY HISTORY OF COURT FOOLS—THEIR COSTUME—CARVINGS IN THE CORNISH CHURCHES—THE BURLESQUE SOCIETIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES—THE FEASTS OF ASSES, AND OF FOOLS—THEIR LICENCE—THE LEADEN MONEY OF THE FOOLS—THE BISHOP'S BLESSING 200

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DANCE OF DEATH—THE PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH OF LA CHAISE DIEU—THE REIGN OF FOLLY—SEBASTIAN BRANDT; THE SHIP OF FOOLS—DISTURBERS OF CHURCH SERVICE—TROUBLESOME BEGGARS—GEILER'S SERMONS—BADIUS, AND HIS SHIP OF FOOLISH WOMEN—THE PLEASURES OF SMELL—ERASMUS; THE PRAISE OF FOLLY . 214

CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE

POPULAR LITERATURE AND ITS HEROES; BROTHER RUSH, TYLL EULENSPIEGEL, THE WISE MEN OF GOTHAM—STORIES AND JEST-BOOKS—SKELTON, SCOGIN, TARLTON, PEELE 228

CHAPTER XV.

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION—THOMAS MURNER; HIS GENERAL SATIRES—FRUITFULNESS OF FOLLY—HANS SACHS—THE TRAP FOR FOOLS—ATTACKS ON LUTHER—THE POPE AS ANTICHRIST—THE POPE-ASS AND THE MONK-CALF—OTHER CARICATURES AGAINST THE POPE—THE GOOD AND BAD SHEPHERDS 244

CHAPTER XVI.

ORIGIN OF MEDIÆVAL FARCE AND MODERN COMEDY—HROTSVITHA—MEDIÆVAL NOTIONS OF TERENCE—THE EARLY RELIGIOUS PLAYS—MYSTERIES AND MIRACLE PLAYS—THE FARCES—THE DRAMA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 264

CHAPTER XVII.

DIABLERIE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—EARLY TYPES OF THE DIABOLICAL FORMS—ST. ANTHONY—ST. GUTHLAC—REVIVAL OF THE TASTE FOR SUCH SUBJECTS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THE FLEMISH SCHOOL OF BREUGHEL—THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN SCHOOLS—CALLOT, SALVATOR ROSA 288

CHAPTER XVIII.

CALLOT AND HIS SCHOOL—CALLOT'S ROMANTIC HISTORY—HIS "CAPRICI," AND OTHER BURLESQUE WORKS—THE "BALLI" AND THE BEGGARS—IMITATORS OF CALLOT; DELLA BELLA—EXAMPLES OF DELLA BELLA—ROMAIN DE HOOGHE 300

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SATIRICAL LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—PASQUIL—MACARONIC POETRY—THE EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM—RABELAIS—COURT OF THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE, AND ITS LITERARY CIRCLE; BONAVENTURE DES PERIERS—HENRI ETIENNE—THE LIGUE, AND ITS SATIRE: THE "SATYRE MENIPPEE" . . . 312

CHAPTER XX.

PAGE

POLITICAL CARICATURE IN ITS INFANCY—THE REVERS DU JEU DES SUYSSES—CARICATURE IN FRANCE—THE THREE ORDERS—PERIOD OF THE LIGUE; CARICATURES AGAINST HENRI III.—CARICATURES AGAINST THE LIGUE—CARICATURE IN FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—GENERAL GALAS—THE QUARREL OF AMBASSADORS—CARICATURE AGAINST LOUIS XIV.; WILLIAM OF FURSTEMBERG 347

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY POLITICAL CARICATURE IN ENGLAND—THE SATIRICAL WRITINGS AND PICTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD—SATIRES AGAINST THE BISHOPS; BISHOP WILLIAMS—CARICATURES ON THE CAVALIERS; SIR JOHN SUCKLING—THE ROARING BOYS; VIOLENCE OF THE ROYALIST SOLDIERS—CONTEST BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS—GRINDING THE KING'S NOSE—PLAYING-CARDS USED AS THE MEDIUM FOR CARICATURE; HASELRIGGE AND LAMBERT—SHROVETIDE 360

CHAPTER XXII.

ENGLISH COMEDY—BEN JONSON—THE OTHER WRITERS OF HIS SCHOOL—INTERRUPTION OF DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES—COMEDY AFTER THE RESTORATION—THE HOWARDS BROTHERS: THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM; THE REHEARSAL—WRITERS OF COMEDY IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—INDECENCY OF THE STAGE—COLLEY CIBBER—FOOTE 375

CHAPTER XXIII.

CARICATURE IN HOLLAND—ROMAIN DE HOOGHE—THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION—CARICATURES ON LOUIS XIV. AND JAMES II.—DR. SACHEVERELL—CARICATURE BROUGHT FROM HOLLAND TO ENGLAND—ORIGIN OF THE WORD "CARICATURE"—MISSISSIPPI AND THE SOUTH SEA; THE YEAR OF BUBBLES 406

CHAPTER XXIV.

PAGE

ENGLISH CARICATURE IN THE AGE OF GEORGE II.—ENGLISH PRINT-SELLERS—ARTISTS EMPLOYED BY THEM—SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S LONG MINISTRY—THE WAR WITH FRANCE—THE NEWCASTLE ADMINISTRATION—OPERA INTRIGUES—ACCESSION OF GEORGE III., AND LORD BUTE IN POWER 420

CHAPTER XXV.

HOGARTH—HIS EARLY HISTORY—HIS SETS OF PICTURES—THE HARLOT'S PROGRESS—THE RAKE'S PROGRESS—THE MARRIAGE A LA MODE—HIS OTHER PRINTS—THE ANALYSIS OF BEAUTY, AND THE PERSECUTION ARISING OUT OF IT—HIS PATRONAGE BY LORD BUTE—CARICATURE OF THE TIMES—ATTACKS TO WHICH HE WAS EXPOSED BY IT, AND WHICH HASTENED HIS DEATH 434

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LESSER CARICATURISTS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—PAUL SANDBY—COLLET: THE DISASTER, AND FATHER PAUL IN HIS CUPS—JAMES SAYER: HIS CARICATURES IN SUPPORT OF PITT, AND HIS REWARD—CARLO KHAN'S TRIUMPH—BUNBURY'S: HIS CARICATURES ON HORSEMANSHIP—WOODWARD: GENERAL COMPLAINT—ROWLANDSON'S INFLUENCE ON THE STYLE OF THOSE WHOSE DESIGNS HE ETCHED—JOHN KAY OF EDINBURGH: LOOKING A ROCK IN THE FACE 450

CHAPTER XXVII.

GILLRAY—HIS FIRST ATTEMPTS—HIS CARICATURES BEGIN WITH THE SHELBURNE MINISTRY—IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS—CARICATURES ON THE KING; NEW WAY TO PAY THE NATIONAL DEBT—ALLEGED REASON FOR GILLRAY'S HOSTILITY TO THE KING—THE KING AND THE APPLE-DUMPLINGS—GILLRAY'S LATER LABOURS—HIS IDIOTCY AND DEATH 464

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GILLRAY'S CARICATURES ON SOCIAL LIFE—THOMAS ROWLANDSON—HIS EARLY LIFE—HE BECOMES A CARICATURIST—HIS STYLE AND WORKS—HIS DRAWINGS—THE CRUIKSHANKS 480

HISTORY

OF

CARICATURE AND GROTESQUE IN LITERATURE AND ART.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF CARICATURE AND GROTESQUE.—SPIRIT OF CARICATURE IN EGYPT.—MONSTERS: PYTHON AND GORGON.—GREECE.—THE DIONYSIAC CEREMONIES, AND ORIGIN OF THE DRAMA.—THE OLD COMEDY.—LOVE OF PARODY.—PARODIES ON SUBJECTS TAKEN FROM GRECIAN MYTHOLOGY: THE VISIT TO THE LOVER: APOLLO AT DELPHI.—THE PARTIALITY FOR PARODY CONTINUED AMONG THE ROMANS: THE FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS.

IT is not my intention in the following pages to diſcuſs the queſtion what conſtitutes the comic or the laughable, or, in other words, to enter into the philoſophy of the ſubject; I deſign only to trace the hiſtory of its outward development, the various forms it has aſſumed, and its ſocial influence. Laughter appears to be almoſt a neceſſity of human nature, in all conditions of man's exiſtence, however rude or however cultivated; and ſome of the greateſt men of all ages, men of the moſt refined intellects, ſuch as Cicero in the ages of antiquity, and Eraſmus among the moderns, have been celebrated for their indulgence in it. The former was ſometimes called by his opponents *ſcurra conſularis*, the "conſular jeſter;" and the latter, who has been ſpoken of as the "mocking-bird," is ſaid to have laughed ſo immoderately over the well-known "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," that he brought upon himſelf a ſerious fit of illneſs. The greateſt of comic writers, Ariſtophanes, has always been looked upon as a model of literary perfection. An epigram in the Greek Antho-

logy, written by the divine Plato, tells us how, when the Graces ſought a temple which would not fall, they found the ſoul of Ariſtophanes:—

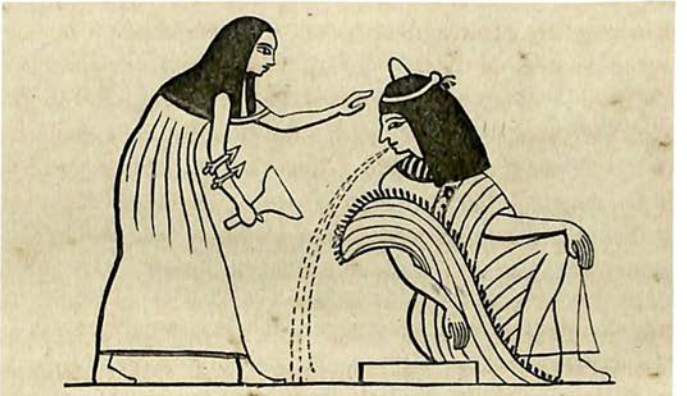
Αἱ χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται
Ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὗρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

On the other hand, the men who never laughed, the ἀγέλαστοι, were looked upon as the leaſt reſpectable of mortals.

A tendency to burleſque and caricature appears, indeed, to be a feeling deeply implanted in human nature, and it is one of the earlieſt talents diſplayed by people in a rude ſtate of ſociety. An appreciation of, and ſenſitiveneſs to, ridicule, and a love of that which is humorous, are found even among ſavages, and enter largely into their relations with their fellow men. When, before people cultivated either literature or art, the chieftain ſat in his rude hall ſurrounded by his warriors, they amuſed themſelves by turning their enemies and opponents into mockery, by laughing at their weakneſſes, joking on their defects, whether phyſical or mental, and giving them nicknames in accordance therewith,—in fact, caricaturing them in words, or by telling ſtories which were calculated to excite laughter. When the agricultural ſlaves (for the tillers of the land were then ſlaves) were indulged with a day of relief from their labours, they ſpent it in unreſtrained mirth. And when theſe ſame people began to erect permanent buildings, and to ornament them, the favourite ſubjects of their ornamentation were ſuch as preſented ludicrous ideas. The warrior, too, who caricatured his enemy in his ſpeeches over the feſtive board, ſoon ſought to give a more permanent form to his ridicule, which he endeavoured to do by rude delineations on the bare rock, or on any other convenient ſurface which preſented itſelf to his hand. Thus originated caricature and the groteſque in art. In fact, art itſelf, in its earlieſt forms, is caricature; for it is only by that exaggeration of features which belongs to caricature, that unſkilful draughtſmen could make themſelves underſtood.

Although we might, perhaps, find in different countries examples of theſe principles in different ſtates of development, we cannot in any one country trace the entire courſe of the development itſelf: for in all the highly civiliſed

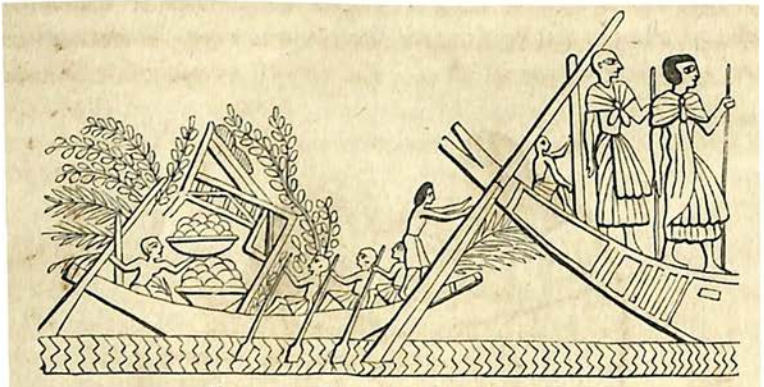
civiliſed races of mankind, we firſt become acquainted with their hiſtory when they had already reached a conſiderable degree of refinement; and even at that period of their progreſs, our knowledge is almoſt confined to their religious, and to their more ſeverely hiſtorical, monuments. Such is eſpecially the caſe with Egypt, the hiſtory of which country, as repreſented by its monuments of art, carries us back to the remoteſt ages of antiquity. Egyptian art generally preſents itſelf in a ſombre and maſſive character, with little of gaiety or joviality in its deſigns or forms. Yet, as Sir Gardner Wilkinſon has remarked in his valuable work on the "Manners and Cuſtoms of the Ancient Egyptians," the early Egyptian artiſts cannot always conceal their natural tendency to the humorous, which creeps out in a variety of little incidents. Thus, in a ſeries of grave hiſtorical pictures on one of the great monuments at Thebes, we find a repreſentation of a wine party, where the company conſiſts of both ſexes, and which evidently ſhows that the ladies were not reſtricted in the



No. 1. An Egyptian Lady at a Feaſt.

uſe of the juice of the grape in their entertainments; and, as he adds, "the painters, in illuſtrating this fact, have ſometimes ſacrificed their gallantry to a love of caricature." Among the females, evidently of rank, repreſented in this ſcene, "ſome call the ſervants to ſupport them as they ſit, others with difficulty prevent themſelves from falling on thoſe behind them,

them, and the faded flower, which is ready to drop from their heated hands, is intended to be characteriſtic of their own ſenſations." One group, a lady whoſe exceſs has been carried too far, and her ſervant who comes to her aſſiſtance, is repreſented in our cut No. 1. Sir Gardner obſerves that "many ſimilar inſtances of a talent for caricature are obſervable in the compoſitions of the Egyptian artiſts, who executed the paintings of the tombs" at Thebes, which belong to a very early period of the Egyptian annals. Nor is the application of this talent reſtricted always to ſecular ſubjects, but we ſee it at times intruding into the moſt ſacred myſteries of their religion. I give as a curious example, taken from one of Sir Gardner Wilkinſon's engravings, a ſcene in the repreſentation of a funeral proceſſion croſſing the Lake of the Dead (No. 2), that



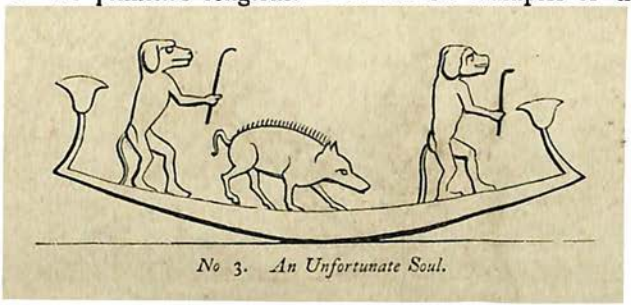
No. 2. Cataſtrophe in a Funeral Proceſſion.

appears in one of theſe early paintings at Thebes, in which "the love of caricature common to the Egyptians is ſhown to have been indulged even in this ſerious ſubject; and the retrograde movement of the large boat, which has grounded and is puſhed off the bank, ſtriking the ſmaller one with its rudder, has overturned a large table loaded with cakes and other things, upon the rowers ſeated below, in ſpite of all the efforts of the prowman, and the earneſt vociferations of the alarmed ſteerſman." The accident which thus overthrows and ſcatters the proviſions intended for the funeral feaſt, and the confuſion attendant upon it, form a ludicrous

ſcene

ſcene in the midſt of a ſolemn picture, that would be worthy of the imagination of a Rowlandſon.

Another cut (No. 3), taken from one of the ſame ſeries of paintings, belongs to a claſs of caricatures which dates from a very remote period. One of the moſt natural ideas among all people would be to compare men with the animals whoſe particular qualities they poſſeſſed. Thus, one might be as bold as a lion, another as faithful as a dog, or as cunning as a fox, or as ſwiniſh as a hog. The name of the animal would thus often be given as a nickname to the man, and in the ſequel he would be repreſented pictorially under the form of the animal. It was partly out of this kind of caricature, no doubt, that the ſingular claſs of apologues which have been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of fables aroſe. Connected with it was the belief in the metempſychoſis, or tranſmiſſion of the ſoul into the bodies of animals after death, which formed a part of ſeveral of the primitive religions. The earlieſt examples of this claſs



No 3. An Unfortunate Soul.

of caricature of mankind are found on the Egyptian monuments, as in the inſtance juſt referred to, which repreſents "a ſoul condemned to return to earth under the form of a pig, having been weighed in the ſcales before Oſiris and been found wanting. Being placed in a boat, and accompanied by two monkeys, it is diſmiſſed the ſacred precinct." The latter animals, it may be remarked, as they are here repreſented, are the cynocephali, or dog-headed monkeys (the *ſimia inuus*), which were ſacred animals among the Egyptians, and the peculiar characteriſtic of which—the dog-ſhaped head—is, as uſual, exaggerated by the artiſt.

The repreſentation of this return of a condemned ſoul under the repulſive

repulſive form of a pig, is painted on the left ſide wall of the long entrance-gallery to the tomb of King Rameſes V., in the valley of royal catacombs known as the Biban-el-Molook, at Thebes. Wilkinſon gives the date of the acceſſion of this monarch to the throne as 1185, B.C. In the original picture, Oſiris is ſeated on his throne at ſome diſtance from the ſtern of the boat, and is diſmiſſing it from his preſence by a wave of the hand. This tomb was open in the time of the Romans, and termed by them the "Tomb of Memnon;" it was greatly admired, and is covered with laudatory inſcriptions by Greek and Roman viſitors. One of the moſt intereſting is placed beneath this picture, recording the name of a *daduchus*, or torch-bearer in the Eleuſinian myſteries, who viſited this tomb in the reign of Conſtantine.

The practice having been once introduced of repreſenting men under the character of animals, was ſoon developed into other applications

No. 4. *The Cat and the Geeſe.*

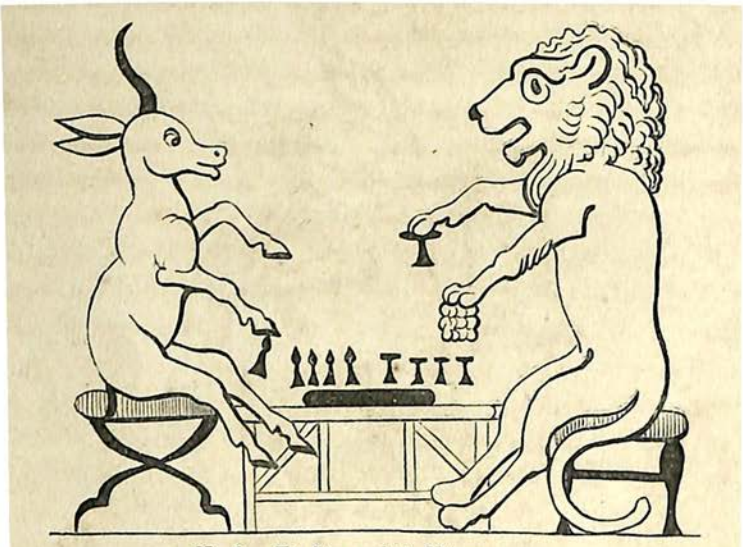
of the ſame idea—ſuch as that of figuring animals employed in the various occupations of mankind, and that of reverſing the poſition of man and the inferior animals, and repreſenting the latter as treating their human

human tyrant in the ſame manner as they are uſually treated by him. The latter idea became a very favourite one at a later period, but the other is met with not unfrequently among the works of art which have been ſaved from the wrecks of antiquity. Among the treaſures of the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a long Egyptian picture on papyrus, originally forming a roll, conſiſting of repreſentations of this deſcription, from which I give three curious examples. The firſt (ſee cut No. 4) repreſents a cat in charge of a drove of geeſe. It will be obſerved that the cat holds in her hand the ſame ſort of rod, with a hook at the end, with which the

No. 5. The Fox turned Piper.

monkeys are furniſhed in the preceding picture. The ſecond (No. 5) repreſents a fox carrying a baſket by means of a pole ſupported on his ſhoulder (a method of carrying burthens frequently repreſented on the monuments of ancient art), and playing on the well-known double flute, or pipe. The fox ſoon became a favourite perſonage in this claſs of caricatures, and we know what a prominent part he afterwards played in mediæval ſatire. Perhaps, however, the moſt popular of all animals in this claſs of drolleries was the monkey, which appears natural enough when

when we conſider its ſingular aptitude to mimic the actions of man. The ancient naturaliſts tell us ſome curious, though not very credible, ſtories of the manner in which this characteriſtic of the monkey tribes was taken advantage of to entrap them, and Pliny (Hiſt. Nat., lib. viii. c. 80) quotes an older writer, who aſſerted that they had even been taught to play at draughts. Our third ſubject from the Egyptian papyrus of the Britiſh Muſeum (No. 6) repreſents a ſcene in which the game of draughts —or, more properly ſpeaking, the game which the Romans called the



No. 6. The Lion and the Unicorn.

ludus latrunculorum, and which is believed to have reſembled our draughts —is played by two animals well known to modern heraldry, the lion and the unicorn. The lion has evidently gained the victory, and is fingering the money; and his bold air of ſwaggering ſuperiority, as well as the look of ſurpriſe and diſappointment of his vanquiſhed opponent, are by no means ill pictured. This ſeries of caricatures, though Egyptian, belongs to the Roman period.

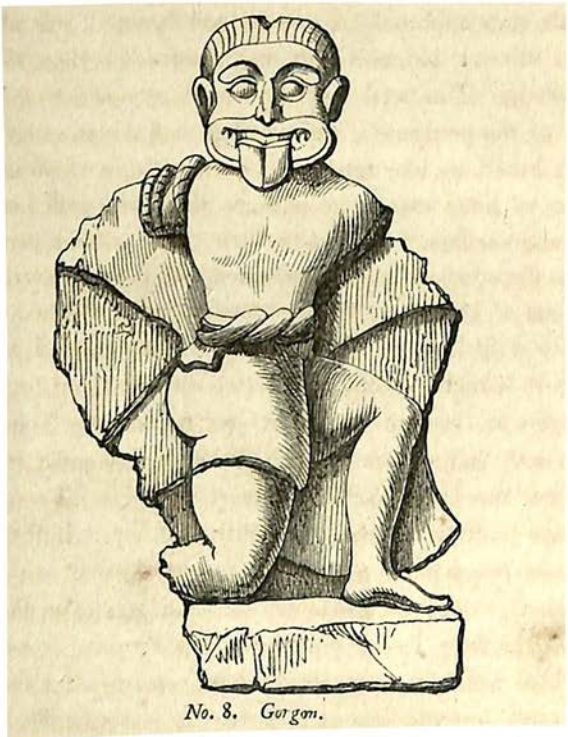
The monſtrous is cloſely allied to the groteſque, and both come within the province of caricature, when we take this term in its wideſt ſenſe. The

The Greeks, eſpecially, were partial to repreſentations of monſters, and monſtrous forms are continually met with among their ornaments and works of art. The type of the Egyptian monſter is repreſented in the accompanying cut (No. 7), taken from the work of Sir Gardner Wilkinſon before quoted, and is ſaid to be the figure of the god Typhon. It occurs frequently on Egyptian monuments, with ſome variation in its forms, but always

No. 7. Typhon.

characteriſed by the broad, coarſe, and frightful face, and by the large tongue lolling out. It is intereſting to us, becauſe it is the apparent origin of a long ſeries of faces, or maſks, of this form and character, which are continually recurring in the groteſque ornamentation, not only of the Greeks and Romans, but of the middle ages. It appears to have been ſometimes given by the Romans to the repreſentations of people whom they hated or deſpiſed; and Pliny, in a curious paſſage of his "Natural

Hiſtory,"* informs us that at one time, among the pictures exhibited in the Forum at Rome, there was one in which a Gaul was repreſented, "thruſting out his tongue in a very unbecoming manner." The Egyptian Typhons had their exact repreſentations in ancient Greece in a figure of frequent occurrence, to which antiquaries have, I know not why, given the name of Gorgon. The example in our cut No. 8, is a figure in terra-cotta, now in the collection of the Royal Muſeum at Berlin.†



No. 8. Gorgon.

In Greece, however, the ſpirit of caricature and burleſque repreſentation had aſſumed a more regular form than in other countries, for it was inherent in the ſpirit of Grecian ſociety. Among the population of Greece, the worſhip of Dionyſus, or Bacchus, had taken deep root from

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* Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv. c. 8.

† Panofka, Terracotten des Museums Berlin, pl. lxi. p. 154.

a very early period—earlier than we can trace back—and it formed the nucleus of the popular religion and ſuperſtitions, the cradle of poetry and the drama. The moſt popular celebrations of the people of Greece, were the Dionyſiac feſtivals, and the phallic rites and proceſſions which accompanied them, in which the chief actors aſſumed the diſguiſe of ſatyrs and fawns, covering themſelves with goat-ſkins, and disfiguring their faces by rubbing them over with the lees of wine. Thus, in the guiſe of noiſy bacchanals, they diſplayed an unreſtrained licentiouſneſs of geſture and language, uttering indecent jeſts and abuſive ſpeeches, in which they ſpared nobody. This portion of the ceremony was the eſpecial attribute of a part of the performers, who accompanied the proceſſion in waggons, and acted ſomething like dramatic performances, in which they uttered an abundance of looſe extempore ſatire on thoſe who paſſed or who accompanied the proceſſion, a little in the ſtyle of the modern carnivals. It became thus the occaſion for an unreſtrained publication of coarſe paſquinades. In the time of Piſiſtratus, theſe performances are aſſumed to have been reduced to a little more order by an individual named Theſpis, who is ſaid to have invented maſks as a better diſguiſe than dirty faces, and is looked upon as the father of the Grecian drama. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the drama aroſe out of theſe popular ceremonies, and it long bore the unmiſtakable marks of its origin. Even the name of tragedy has nothing tragic in its derivation, for it is formed from the Greek word *tragos* (τράγος), a goat, in the ſkins of which animal the ſatyrs clothed themſelves, and hence the name was given alſo to thoſe who perſonated the ſatyrs in the proceſſions. A *tragodus* (τραγῳδὸς) was the ſinger, whoſe words accompanied the movements of a chorus of ſatyrs, and the term *tragodia* was applied to his performance. In the ſame manner, a *comodus* (κωμωδὸς) was one who accompanied ſimilarly, with chants of an abuſive or ſatirical character, a *comus* (κῶμος), or band of revellers, in the more riotous and licentious portion of the performances in the Bacchic feſtivals. The Greek drama always betrayed its origin by the circumſtance that the performances took place annually, only at the yearly feſtivals in honour of Bacchus, of which in fact they conſtituted a part. Moreover, as the Greek drama became perfected, it ſtill retained

from

from its origin a triple diviſion, into tragedy, comedy, and the ſatiric drama; and, being ſtill performed at the Dionyſiac feſtival in Athens, each dramatic author was expected to produce what was called a *trilogy*, that is, a tragedy, a ſatirical play, and a comedy. So completely was all this identified in the popular mind with the worſhip of Bacchus, that, long afterwards, when even a tragedy did not pleaſe the audience by its ſubject, the common form of diſapproval was, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόννσον—"What has this to do with Bacchus?" and, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόννσον—"This has nothing to do with Bacchus."

We have no perfect remains of the Greek ſatiric drama, which was, perhaps, of a temporary character, and leſs frequently preſerved; but the early Greek comedy is preſerved in a certain number of the plays of Ariſtophanes, in which we can contemplate it in all its freedom of character. It repreſented the waggon-jeſting, of the age of Theſpis, in its full development. In its form it was burleſque to a wanton degree of extravagance, and its eſſence was perſonal vilification, as well as general ſatire. Individuals were not only attacked by the application to them of abuſive epithets, but they were repreſented perſonally on the ſtage as performing every kind of contemptible action, and as ſuffering all ſorts of ludicrous and diſgraceful treatment. The drama thus bore marks of its origin in its extraordinary licentiouſneſs of language and coſtume, and in the conſtant uſe of the maſk. One of its moſt favourite inſtruments of ſatire was parody, which was employed unſparingly on everything which ſociety in its ſolemn moments reſpected—againſt everything that the ſatiriſt conſidered worthy of being held up to public deriſion or ſcorn. Religion itſelf, philoſophy, ſocial manners and inſtitutions—even poetry—were all parodied in their turn. The comedies of Ariſtophanes are full of parodies on the poetry of the tragic and other writers of his age. He is eſpecially happy in parodying the poetry of the tragic dramatiſt Euripides. The old comedy of Greece has thus been correctly deſcribed as the comedy of caricature; and the ſpirit, and even the ſcenes, of this comedy, being transferred to pictorial repreſentations, became entirely identical with that branch of art to which we give the name of caricature in modern times. Under the cover of bacchanalian buffoonery, a ſerious purpoſe,

purpoſe, it is true, was aimed at; but the general ſatire was chiefly implied in the violent perſonal attacks on individuals, and this became ſo offenſive that when ſuch perſons obtained greater power in Athens than the populace the old comedy was aboliſhed.

Ariſtophanes was the greateſt and moſt perfect poet of the Old Comedy, and his remaining comedies are as ſtrongly marked repreſentations of the hoſtility of political and ſocial parties in his time, as the caricatures of Gillray are of party in the reign of our George III., and, we may add, even more minute. They range through the memorable period of the Peloponneſian war, and the earlier ones give us the regular annual ſeries of theſe performances, as far as Ariſtophanes contributed them, during ſeveral years. The firſt of them, "The Acharnians," was performed at the Lenæan feaſt of Bacchus in the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war, the year 425 B.C., when it gained the firſt prize. It is a bold attack on the factious prolongation of the war through the influence of the Athenian demagogues. The next, "The Knights," brought out in B.C. 424, is a direct attack upon Cleon, the chief of theſe demagogues, although he is not mentioned by name; and it is recorded that, finding nobody who had courage enough to make a maſk repreſenting Cleon, or to play the character, Ariſtophanes was obliged to perform it himſelf, and that he ſmeared his face with lees of wine, in order to repreſent the fluſhed and bloated countenance of the great demagogue, thus returning to the original mode of acting of the predeceſſors of Theſpis. This, too, was the firſt of the comedies of Ariſtophanes which he publiſhed in his own name. "The Clouds," publiſhed in 423, is aimed at Socrates and the philoſophers. The fourth, "The Waſps," publiſhed in B.C. 422, preſents a ſatire on the litigious ſpirit of the Athenians. The fifth, entitled "Peace" (Εἰρηνη), appeared in the year following, at the time of the peace of Nicias, and is another ſatire on the bellicoſe ſpirit of the Athenian democracy. The next in the liſt of extant plays comes after an interval of ſeveral years, having been publiſhed in B.C. 414, the firſt year of the Sicilian war, and relates to an irreligious movement in Athens, which had cauſed a great ſenſation. Two Athenians are repreſented as leaving Athens, in diſguſt at the vices and follies of their fellow citizens, and ſeeking the kingdom

of

of the birds, where they form a new ſtate, by which the communication between the mortals and the immortals is cut off, and is only opened again by an arrangement between all the parties. In the "Lyſiſtrata," believed to have been brought out in 411, when the war was ſtill at its height, the women of Athens are repreſented as engaging in a cunning and ſucceſsful plot, by which they gain poſſeſſion of the government of the ſtate, and compel their huſbands to make peace. "The Theſmophoriazuſæ," appears to have been publiſhed in B.C. 410; it is a ſatire upon Euripides, whoſe writings were remarkable for their bitter attacks on the character of the female ſex, who, in this comedy, conſpire againſt him to ſecure his puniſhment. The comedy of "The Frogs" was brought out in the year 405 B.C., and is a ſatire on the literature of the day; it is aimed eſpecially at Euripides, and was perhaps written ſoon after his death, its real ſubject being the decline of the tragic drama, which Euripides was accuſed of having promoted. It is perhaps the moſt witty of the plays of Ariſtophanes which have been preſerved. "The Eccleſiazuſæ," publiſhed in 392, is a burleſque upon the theories of republican government, which were then ſtarted among the philoſophers, ſome of which differed little from our modern communiſm. The ladies again, by a clever conſpiracy, gain the maſtery in the eſtate, and they decree a community of goods and women, with ſome laws very peculiar to that ſtate of things. The humour of the piece, which is extremely broad, turns upon the diſputes and embarraſſments reſulting from this ſtate of things. The laſt of his comedies extant, "Plutus," appears to be a work of the concluding years of the active life of Ariſtophanes; it is the leaſt ſtriking of them all, and is rather a moral than a political ſatire.

In a comedy brought out in 426, the year before "The Archarnians," under the title of "The Babylonians," Ariſtophanes appears to have given great offence to the democratic party, a circumſtance to which he alludes more than once in the former play. However, his talents and popularity ſeem to have carried him over the danger, and certainly nothing can have exceeded the bitterneſs of ſatire employed in his ſubſequent comedies. Thoſe who followed him were leſs fortunate.

One of the lateſt writers of the Old Comedy was Anaximandrides, who

who caſt a reflection on the ſtate of Athens in parodying a line of Euripides. This poet had ſaid,—

ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ' ἥ νόμων οὐδεν μέλει
(Nature has commanded, which cares nothing for the laws);

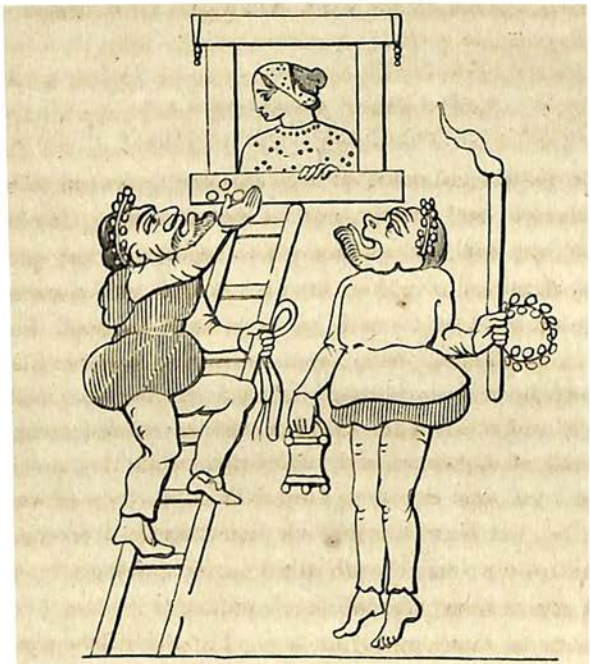
which Anaximandrides changed to—

ἡ πόλις ἐβούλεθ' ἥ νόμων οὐδεν μέλει
(The ſtate has commanded, which cares nothing for the laws).

Nowhere is oppreſſion exerciſed with greater harſhneſs than under democratic governments; and Anaximandrides was proſecuted for this joke as a crime againſt the ſtate, and condemned to death. As may be ſuppoſed, liberty of ſpeech ceaſed to exiſt in Athens. We are well acquainted with the character of the Old Comedy, in its greateſt freedom, through the writings of Ariſtophanes. What was called the Middle Comedy, in which political ſatire was prohibited, laſted from this time until the age of Philip of Macedon, when the old liberty of Greece was finally cruſhed. The laſt form of Greek comedy followed, which is known as the New Comedy, and was repreſented by ſuch names as Epicharmus and Menander. In the New Comedy all caricature and parody, and all perſonal alluſions, were entirely proſcribed; it was changed entirely into a comedy of manners and domeſtic life, a picture of contemporary ſociety under conventional names and characters. From this New Comedy was taken the Roman comedy, ſuch as we now have it in the plays of Plautus and Terence, who were profeſſed imitators of Menander and the other writers of the new comedy of the Greeks.

Pictorial caricature was, of courſe, rarely to be ſeen on the public monuments of Greece or Rome, but muſt have been conſigned to objects of a more popular character and to articles of common uſe; and, accordingly, modern antiquarian reſearch has brought it to light ſomewhat abundantly on the pottery of Greece and Etruria, and on the wall-paintings of domeſtic buildings in Herculaneum and Pompeii. The former contains comic ſcenes, eſpecially parodies, which are evidently transferred to them from the ſtage, and which preſerve the maſks and other attributes —ſome of which I have neceſſarily omitted—proving the model from which

which they were taken. The Greeks, as we know from many ſources, were extremely fond of parodies of every deſcription, whether literary or pictorial. The ſubject of our cut No. 9 is a good example of the parodies



No. 9. A Greek Parody.

found on the Greek pottery; it is taken from a fine Etruſcan vaſe,* and has been ſuppoſed to be a parody on the viſit of Jupiter to Alcmena. This appears rather doubtful, but there can be no doubt that it is a burleſque repreſentation of the viſit of a lover to the object of his aſpirations. The lover, in the comic maſk and coſtume, mounts by a ladder to the window at which the lady preſents herſelf, who, it muſt be confeſſed, preſents the appearance of giving her admirer a very cold reception. He tries to conciliate her by a preſent of what ſeem to be apples, inſtead of gold,

* Given in Panoſka, "Antiques du Cabinet Pourtalès," pl. x.

gold, but without much effect. He is attended by his ſervant with a torch, to give him light on the way, which ſhows that it is a night adventure. Both maſter and ſervant have wreaths round their heads, and the latter carries a third in his hand, which, with the contents of his baſket, are alſo probably intended as preſents to the lady.

A more unmiſtakable burleſque on the viſit of Jupiter to Alcmena is publiſhed by Winckelmann from a vaſe, formerly in the library of the Vatican, and now at St. Peterſburg. The treatment of the ſubject is not unlike the picture juſt deſcribed. Alcmena appears juſt in the ſame poſture at her chamber window, and Jupiter is carrying his ladder to mount up to her, but has not yet placed it againſt the wall. His companion is identified with Mercury by the well-known caduceus he carries in his left hand, while with his right hand he holds a lamp up to the window, in order to enable Jupiter to ſee the object of his amour.

It is aſtoniſhing with how much boldneſs the Greeks parodied and ridiculed ſacred ſubjects. The Chriſtian father, Arnobius, in writing againſt his heathen opponents, reproached them with this circumſtance. The laws, he ſays, were made to protect the characters of men from ſlander and libel, but there was no ſuch protection for the characters of the gods, which were treated with the greateſt diſreſpect.* This was eſpecially the caſe in their pictorial repreſentations.

Pliny informs us that Cteſilochus, a pupil of the celebrated Apelles, painted a burleſque picture of Jupiter giving birth to Bacchus, in which the god was repreſented in a very ridiculous poſture.† Ancient writers intimate that ſimilar examples were not uncommon, and mention the names of ſeveral comic painters, whoſe works of this claſs were in repute. Some of theſe were bitter perſonal caricatures, like a celebrated work of a painter

* Arnobius (*contra Gentes*), lib. iv. p. 150. Carmen malum conscribere, quo fama alterius coinquinatur et vita, decemviralibus scitis evadere noluistis impune: ac ne vestras aures convitio aliquis petulantiore pulsaret, de atrocibus formulas constituistis injuriis. Soli dii sunt apud vos superi inhonorati, contemtibiles, viles: in quos jus est vobis datum quæ quisque voluerit dicere turpitudinem, jacere quas libido confinxerit atque excogitaverit formas.

† Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv. c. 40.

painter named Cteſicles, deſcribed alſo by Pliny. It appears that Stratonice, the queen of Seleucus Nicator, had received this painter ill when he viſited her court, and in revenge he executed a picture in which ſhe was repreſented, according to a current ſcandal, as engaged in an amour with a common fiſherman, which he exhibited in the harbour of Epheſus, and then made his eſcape on ſhip-board. Pliny adds that the queen admired the beauty and accuracy of the painting more than ſhe felt the inſult, and that ſhe forbade the removal of the picture.*

The ſubject of our ſecond example of the Greek caricature is better known. It is taken from an oxybaphon which was brought from the Continent to England, where it paſſed into the collection of Mr. William Hope.† The *oxybaphon* (ὀξύβαφον), or, as it was called by the Romans, *acetabulum*, was a large veſſel for holding vinegar, which formed one of the important ornaments of the table, and was therefore very ſuſceptible of pictorial embelliſhment of this deſcription. It is one of the moſt remarkable Greek caricatures of this kind yet known, and repreſents a parody on one of the moſt intereſting ſtories of the Grecian mythology, that of the arrival of Apollo at Delphi. The artiſt, in his love of burleſque, has ſpared none of the perſonages who belonged to the ſtory. The Hyperborean Apollo himſelf appears in the character of a quack doctor, on his temporary ſtage, covered by a ſort of roof, and approached by wooden ſteps. On the ſtage lies Apollo's luggage, conſiſting of a bag, a bow, and his Scythian cap. Chiron (ΧΙΡΩΝ) is repreſented as labouring under the effects of age and blindneſs, and ſupporting himſelf by the aid of a crooked ſtaff, as he repairs to the Delphian quack-doctor for relief. The figure of the centaur is made to aſcend by the aid of a companion, both being furniſhed with the maſks and other attributes of the comic performers. Above are the mountains, and on them the nymphs of Parnaſſus (ΝΥΜΦΑΙ), who, like all the other actors in the ſcene, are diſguiſed with maſks, and thoſe of a very groteſque character. On the right-hand

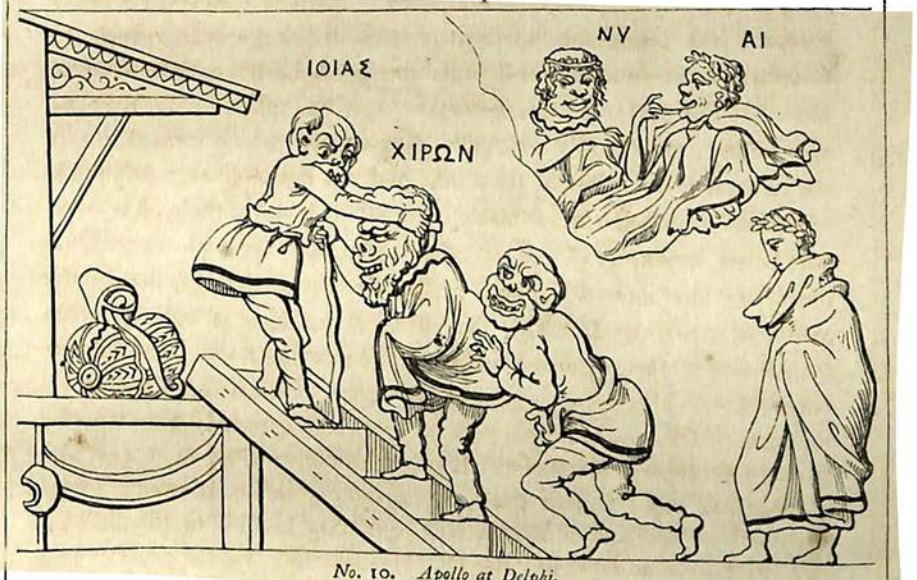
ſide

* Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib. xxxv. c. 40.

† Engraved by Ch. Lenormant et J. de Witt, "Elite des Monuments Céramographiques," pl. xciv.

ſide ſtands a figure which is conſidered as repreſenting the *epoptes*, the inſpector or overſeer of the performance, who alone wears no maſk. Even a pun is employed to heighten the drollery of the ſcene, for inſtead of ΠΥΘΙΑΣ, the Pythian, placed over the head of the burleſque Apollo, it ſeems evident that the artiſt had written ΠΕΙΘΙΑΣ, the conſoler, in alluſion, perhaps, to the conſolation which the quack-doctor is adminiſtering to his blind and aged viſitor.

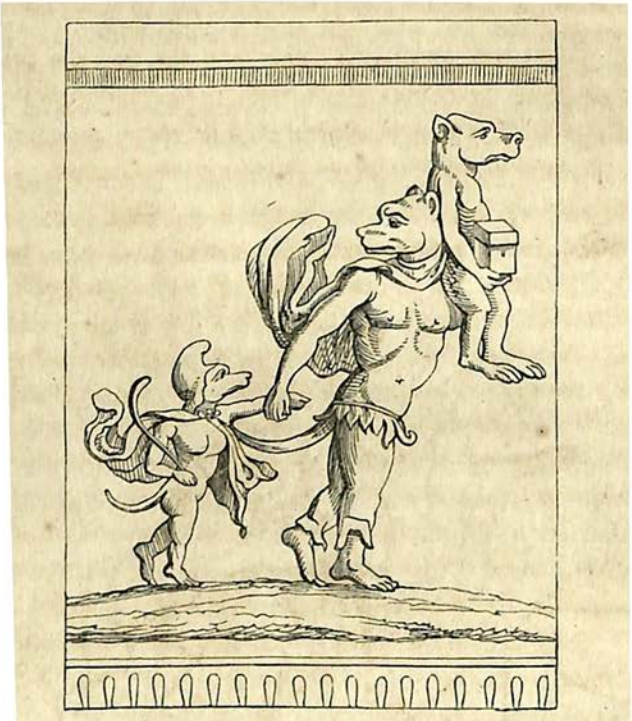
The Greek ſpirit of parody, applied even to the moſt ſacred ſubjects,



No. 10. *Apollo at Delphi.*

however it may have declined in Greece, was revived at Rome, and we find examples of it on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum. They ſhow the ſame readineſs to turn into burleſque the moſt ſacred and popular legends of the Roman mythology. The example given (cut No. 11), from one of the wall-paintings, is peculiarly intereſting, both from circumſtances in the drawing itſelf, and becauſe it is a parody on one of the favourite national legends of the Roman people, who prided themſelves

ſelves on their deſcent from Æneas. Virgil has told, with great effect, the ſtory of his hero's eſcape from the deſtruction of Troy—or rather has put the ſtory into his hero's mouth. When the devoted city was already



No. 11. *The Flight of Æneas from Troy.*

in flames, Æneas took his father, Anchiſes, on his ſhoulder, and his boy, Iulus, or, as he was otherwiſe called, Aſcanius, by the hand, and thus fled from his home, followed by his wife—

Ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere noſtræ ;
Ipſe ſubibo humeris, nec me labor iſte gravabit.
Quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
Una ſalus ambobus erit. Mihi parvus Iulus
Sit comes, et longe ſervat veſtigia conjux.—Virg. Æn., lib. ii. l. 707.

Thus

Thus they hurried on, the child holding by his father's right hand, and dragging after with "unequal ſteps,"—

dextræ ſe parvus Iulus
Implicuit ſequiturque patrem non paſſibus æquis.—Virg. Æn., lib. ii. l. 723.

And thus Æneas bore away both father and ſon, and the penates, or houſehold gods, of his family, which were to be transferred to another country, and become the future guardians of Rome—

Aſcanium, Anchiſemque patrem, Tencroſque penates.—Ib., l. 747.

In this caſe we know that the deſign is intended to be a parody, or burleſque, upon a picture which appears to have been celebrated

No. 12. *The Flight of Æneas.*

at the time, and of which at leaſt two different copies are found upon ancient intaglios. It is the only caſe I know in which both the original and

and the parody have been preſerved from this remote period, and this is ſo curious a circumſtance, that I give in the cut on the preceding page a copy of one of the intaglios.* It repreſented literally Virgil's account of the ſtory, and the only difference between the deſign on the intaglios and the one given in our firſt cut is, that in the latter the perſonages are repreſented under the forms of monkeys. Æneas, perſonified by the ſtrong and vigorous animal, carrying the old monkey, Anchiſes, on his left ſhoulder, hurries forward, and at the ſame time looks back on the burning city. With his right hand he drags along the boy Iulus, or Aſcanius, who is evidently proceeding *non paſſibus æquis*, and with difficulty keeps up with his father's pace. The boy wears a Phrygian bonnet, and holds in his right hand the inſtrument of play which we ſhould now call a "bandy" —the pedun. Anchiſes has charge of the box, which contains the ſacred penates. It is a curious circumſtance that the monkeys in this picture are the ſame dog-headed animals, or cynocephali, which are found on the Egyptian monuments.

* These intaglios are engraved in the Museum Florentinum of Gorius, vol. ii. pl. 30. On one of them the figures are reversed.

When this chapter was already given for press, I first became acquainted with an interesting paper, by Panofka, on the "Parodieen und Karikaturen auf Werken der Klassischen Kunst," in the "Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin," for the year 1854, and I can only now refer my readers to it.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE STAGE IN ROME.—USES OF THE MASK AMONG THE ROMANS.—SCENES FROM ROMAN COMEDY.—THE SANNIO AND MIMUS.—THE ROMAN DRAMA.—THE ROMAN SATIRISTS.—CARICATURE.—ANIMALS INTRODUCED IN THE CHARACTERS OF MEN.—THE PIGMIES, AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO CARICATURE; THE FARM-YARD; THE PAINTER'S STUDIO; THE PROCESSION.—POLITICAL CARICATURE IN POMPEII; THE GRAFFITI.

THE Romans appear to have never had any real taſte for the regular drama, which they merely copied from the Greeks, and from the earlieſt period of their hiſtory we find them borrowing all their arts of this deſcription from their neighbours. In Italy, as in Greece, the firſt germs of comic literature may be traced in the religious feſtivals, which preſented a mixture of religious worſhip and riotous feſtivity, where the feaſters danced and ſung, and, as they became excited with wine and enthuſiaſm, indulged in mutual reproaches and abuſe. The oldeſt poetry of the Romans, which was compoſed in irregular meaſure, was repreſented by the *verſus ſaturnini*, ſaid to have been ſo called from their antiquity (for things of remote antiquity were believed to belong to the age of Saturn). Nævius, one of the oldeſt of Latin poets, is ſaid to have written in this verſe. Next in order of time came the Feſcennine verſes, which appear to have been diſtinguiſhed chiefly by their licenſe, and received their name becauſe they were brought from Feſcennia, in Etruria, where they were employed originally in the feſtivals of Ceres and Bacchus. In the year 391 of Rome, or 361 B.C., the city was viſited by a dreadful plague, and the citizens hit upon what will appear to us the rather ſtrange expedient of ſending for performers (*ludiones*) from Etruria, hoping, by employing them, to appeaſe the anger of the gods. Any performer of this kind appears to have been ſo little known to the Romans before this, that there

there was not even a name for him in the language, and they were obliged to adopt the Tuſcan word, and call him a *hiſtrio*, becauſe *hiſter* in that language meant a player or pantomimiſt. This word, we know, remained in the Latin language. Theſe firſt Etrurian performers appear indeed to have been mere pantomimiſts, who accompanied the flute with all ſorts of mountebank tricks, geſtures, dances, geſticulations, and the like, mixed with ſatirical ſongs, and ſometimes with the performance of coarſe farces. The Romans had alſo a claſs of performances rather more dramatic in character, conſiſting of ſtories which were named *Fabulæ Atellanæ*, becauſe theſe performers were brought from Atella, a city of the Oſci.

A conſiderable advance was made in dramatic Art in Rome about the middle of the third century before Chriſt. It is aſcribed to a freedman named Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth, who is ſaid to have brought out, in the year 240 B.C., the firſt regular comedy ever performed in Rome. Thus we trace not only the Roman comedy, but the very rudiments of dramatic art in Rome, either direct to the Greeks, or to the Grecian colonies in Italy. With the Romans, as well as with the Greeks, the theatre was a popular inſtitution, open to the public, and the ſtate or a wealthy individual paid for the performance; and therefore the building itſelf was neceſſarily of very great extent, and, in both countries open to the ſky, except that the Romans provided for throwing an awning over it. As the Roman comedy was copied from the new comedy of the Greeks, and therefore did not admit of the introduction of caricature and burleſque on the ſtage, theſe were left eſpecially to the province of the pantomime and farce, which the Romans, as juſt ſtated, had received from a ſtill earlier period.

Whether the Romans borrowed the maſk from the Greeks, or not, is rather uncertain, but it was uſed as generally in the Roman theatres, whether in comedy or tragedy, as among the Greeks. The Greek actors performed upon ſtilts, in order to magnify their figures, as the area of the theatre was very large and uncovered, and without this help they were not ſo well ſeen at a diſtance; and one object of utility aimed at by the maſk is ſaid to have been to make the head appear proportionate in ſize

to

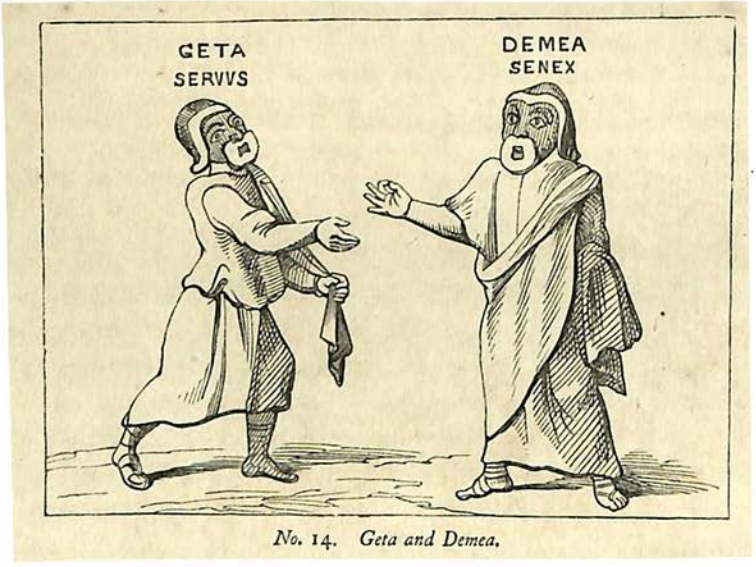
to the artificial height of the body. It may be remarked that the maſk ſeems generally to have been made to cover the whole head, repreſenting the hair as well as the face, ſo that the character of age or complexion might be given complete. Among the Romans the ſtilts were certainly not in general uſe, but ſtill the maſk, beſides its comic or tragic character, is ſuppoſed to have ſerved uſeful purpoſes. The firſt improvement upon its original ſtructure is ſaid to have been the making it of braſs, or ſome

No. 13. *A Scene from Terence.*

other ſonorous metal, or at leaſt lining the mouth with it, ſo as to reverberate, and give force to the voice, and alſo to the mouth of the maſk ſomething of the character of a ſpeaking-trumpet.* All theſe acceſſories could not fail to detract much from the effect of the acting, which muſt in general have been very meaſured and formal, and have received moſt of its importance from the excellence of the poetry, and the declamatory talents of the actors. We have pictures in which ſcenes from the Roman ſtage are accurately

* It is ſaid to have received its Latin name from this circumſtance, *perſona, a perſonando.* See Aulus Gellius, Noct Att., lib. v. c. 7.

accurately repreſented. Several rather early manuſcripts of Terence have been preſerved, illuſtrated with drawings of the ſcenes as repreſented on the ſtage, and theſe, though belonging to a period long ſubſequent to the age in which the Roman ſtage exiſted in its original character, are, no doubt, copied from drawings of an earlier date. A German antiquary of the laſt century, Henry Berger, publiſhed in a quarto volume a ſeries of ſuch illuſtrations from a manuſcript of Terence in the library of the Vatican at Rome, from which two examples are ſelected, as ſhowing the



No. 14. *Geta and Demea.*

uſual ſtyle of Roman comic acting, and the uſe of the maſk. The firſt (No. 13) is the opening ſcene in the *Andria*. On the right, two ſervants have brought proviſions, and on the left appear Simo, the maſter of the houſehold, and his freedman, Soſia, who ſeems to be entruſted with the charge of his domeſtic affairs. Simo tells his ſervants to go away with the proviſions, while he beckons Soſia to confer with him in private :—

Si. *Vos iſtæc intro auferte ; abite. Soſia,*
Adeſdum ; paucis te volo. So. *Dictum puta*
Nempe ut curentur recte hæc. Si. *Imo aliud.*
Terent. Andr., Actus i., Scena 1.

When

When we compare theſe words with the picture, we cannot but feel that in the latter there is an unneceſſary degree of energy put into the *poſe* of the figures; whjch is perhaps leſs the caſe in the other (No. 14), an illuſtration of the fixth ſcene of the fifth act of the *Adelphi* of Terence. It repreſents the meeting of Geta, a rather talkative and conceited ſervant, and Demea, a countryfied and churliſh old man, his acquaintance, and of courſe ſuperior. To Geta's ſalutation, Demea aſks churliſhly, as not at firſt knowing him, "Who are you?" but when he finds that it is Geta, he changes ſuddenly to an almoſt fawning tone:—

G. .....*Sed eccum Demeam. Salvus ſies.*
D. *Oh, qui vocare?* G. *Geta.* D. *Geta, hominem maximi*
Pretii eſſe te hodie judicavi animo mei.

That theſe repreſentations are truthful, the ſcenes in the wall-paintings of Pompeii leave us no room to doubt. One of theſe is produced in our cut No. 15, which is no doubt taken from a comedy now loſt, and we

No. 15. *Comic Scene from Pompeii.*

are ignorant whom the characters are intended to repreſent. The *poſe* given to the two comic figures, compared with the example given from Berger,

Berger, would lead us to ſuppoſe that this over-energetic action was conſidered as part of the character of comic acting.

The ſubject of the Roman maſks is the more intereſting, becauſe they were probably the origin of many of the groteſquè faces ſo often met with in mediæval ſculpture. The comic maſk was, indeed, a very popular object among the Romans, and appears to have been taken as ſymbolical of everything that was droll and burleſque. From the comic ſcenes of the theatre, to which it was firſt appropriated, it paſſed to the popular feſtivals of a public character, ſuch as the Lupercalia, with which, no doubt, it was carried into the carnival of the middle ages, and to our maſquerades. Among the Romans, alſo, the uſe of the maſk ſoon paſſed from the public feſtivals to private ſupper parties. Its uſe was ſo common that it became a plaything among children, and was ſometimes uſed as a bugbear to frighten them. Our cut No. 16, taken from a painting at

No. 16. *Cupids at Play.*

Reſina, repreſents two cupids playing with a maſk, and uſing it for this latter purpoſe, that is, to frighten one another; and it is curious that the mediæval gloſs of Ugutio explains *larva*, a maſk, as being an image, "which was put over the face to frighten children."* The maſk thus became a favourite ornament, eſpecially on lamps, and on the antefixa and

* "Simulacrum.....quod opponitur faciei ad terrendos parvos." (Ugutio, ap. Ducange, v. *Maſca.*)

and gargoyls of Roman buildings, to which were often given the form of groteſque maſks, monſtrous faces, with great mouths wide open, and other figures, like thoſe of the gargoyls of the mediæval architects.

While the comic maſk was uſed generally in the burleſque entertainments, it alſo became diſtinctive of particular characters. One of theſe was the *ſannio*, or buffoon, whoſe name was derived from the Greek word σάννος, "a fool," and who was employed in performing burleſque dances, making grimaces, and in other acts calcul[illegible] to excite the mirth of the ſpectator. A repreſentation of the *ſann[illegible]* given in our cut No. 17,

No. 17. *The Roman Sannio, or Buffoon.*

copied from one of the engravings in the "Diſſertatio de Larvis Scenicis," by the Italian antiquary Ficoroni, who took it from an engraved gem. The ſannio holds in his hand what is ſuppoſed to be a braſs rod, and he has probably

probably another in the other hand, ſo that he could ſtrike them together. He wears the *ſoccus*, or low ſhoe peculiar to the comic actors. This buffoon was a favourite character among the Romans, who introduced him conſtantly into their feaſts and ſupper parties. The *manducus* was another character of this deſcription, repreſented with a groteſque maſk, preſenting a wide mouth and tongue lolling out, and ſaid to have been peculiar to the Atellane plays. A character in Plautus (Rud., ii. 6, 51) talks of hiring himſelf as a *manducus* in the plays.

"*Quid ſi aliquo ad ludos me pro manduco locem?*"

The mediæval gloſſes interpret *manducus* by *joculator*, "a jogelor," and add that the characteriſtic from which he took his name was the practice of making grimaces like a man gobbling up his food in a vulgar and gluttonous manner.

Ficoroni gives, from an engraved onyx, a figure of another burleſque performer, copied in our cut No. 18, and which he compares to the

No. 18. *Roman Tom Fool.*

Catanian dancer of his time (his book was publiſhed in 1754), who was called a *giangurgolo*. This is conſidered to repreſent the Roman *mimus*, a claſs of performers who told with mimicry and action ſcenes taken from common

common life, and more eſpecially ſcandalous and indecent anecdotes, like the jogelors and performers of farces in the middle ages. The Romans were very much attached to theſe performances, ſo much ſo, that they even had them at their funeral proceſſions and at their funeral feaſts. In our figure, the *mimus* is repreſented naked, maſked (with an exaggerated noſe), and wearing what is perhaps intended as a caricature of the Phrygian bonnet. In his right hand he holds a bag, or purſe, full of objects which rattle and make a noiſe when ſhaken, while the other holds the *crotalum*, or caſtanets, an inſtrument in common uſe among the ancients. One of the ſtatues in the Barberini Palace repreſents a youth in a Phrygian cap playing on the *crotalum*. We learn, from an early authority, that it was an inſtrument eſpecially uſed in the ſatirical and burleſque dances which were ſo popular among the Romans.

As I have remarked before, the Romans had no taſte for the regular drama, but they retained to the laſt their love for the performances of the popular *mimi*, or *comœdi* (as they were often called), the players of farces, and the dancers. Theſe performed on the ſtage, in the public feſtivals, in the ſtreets, and were uſually introduced at private parties.* Suetonius tells us that on one occaſion, the emperor Caligula ordered a poet who compoſed the Atellanes (*Atellanæ poetam*) to be burnt in the middle of the amphitheatre, for a pun. A more regular comedy, however, did flouriſh, to a certain degree, at the ſame time with theſe more popular compoſitions. Of the works of the earlieſt of the Roman comic writers, Livius Andronicus and Nævius, we know only one or two titles, and a few fragments quoted in the works of the later Roman writers. They were followed by Plautus, who died B.C. 184, and nineteen of whoſe comedies are preſerved and well known; by ſeveral other writers, whoſe names are almoſt forgotten, and whoſe comedies are all loſt; and by Terence, ſix of whoſe comedies are preſerved. Terence died about the year 159 B.C. About the ſame time with Terence lived Lucius

* See, for allusions to the private employment of these performances, Pliny, Epist. i. 15, and ix. 36.

Lucius Afranius and Quinctius Atta, who appear to cloſe the liſt of the Roman writers of comedy.

But another branch of comic literature had ſprung out of the ſatire of the religious feſtivities. A year after Livius Andronicus produced the firſt drama at Rome, in the year 239 B.C., the poet Ennius was born at Rudiæ, in Magna Græcia. The ſatirical verſe, whether Saturnine or Feſcennine, had been gradually improving in its form, although ſtill very rude, but Ennius is ſaid to have given at leaſt a new poliſh, and perhaps a new metrical ſhape, to it. The verſe was ſtill irregular, but it appears to have been no longer intended for recitation, accompanied by the flute. The Romans looked upon Ennius not only as their earlieſt epic poet, but as the father of ſatire, a claſs of literary compoſition which appears to have originated with them, and which they claimed as their own.* Ennius had an imitator in M. Terentius Varro. The ſatires of theſe firſt writers are ſaid to have been very irregular compoſitions, mixing proſe with verſe, and ſometimes even Greek with Latin; and to have been rather general in their aim than perſonal. But ſoon after this period, and rather more than a century before Chriſt, came Caius Lucilius, who raiſed Roman ſatirical literature to its perfection. Lucilius, we are told, was the firſt who wrote ſatires in heroic verſe, or hexameters, mixing with them now and then, though rarely, an iambic or trochaic line. He was more refined, more pointed, and more perſonal, than his predeceſſors, and he had reſcued ſatire from the ſtreet performer to make it a claſs of literature which was to be read by the educated, and not merely liſtened to by the vulgar. Lucilius is ſaid to have written thirty books of ſatires, of which, unfortunately, only ſome ſcattered lines remain.

Lucilius had imitators, the very names of moſt of whom are now forgotten, but about forty years after his death, and ſixty-five years before the birth of Chriſt, was born Quintus Horatius Flaccus, the oldeſt of the ſatiriſts whoſe works we now poſſeſs, and the moſt poliſhed of Roman poets.

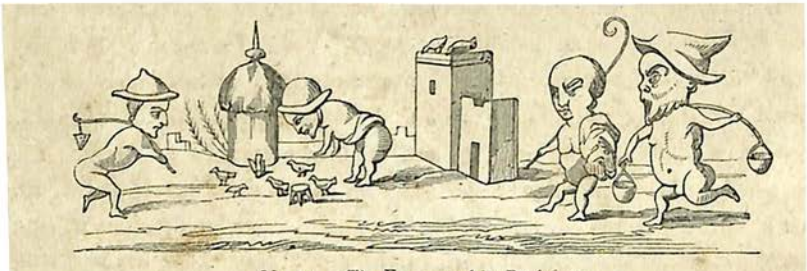
* Quintilian says, "*Satira quidem tota noſtra eſt.*" De Inſtit. Orator., lib. x. c. 1.

poets. In the time of Horace, the ſatire of the Romans had reached its higheſt degree of perfection. Of the two other great ſatiriſts whoſe works are preſerved, Juvenal was born about the year 40 of the Chriſtian era, and Perſius in 43. During the period through which theſe writers flouriſhed, Rome ſaw a conſiderable number of other ſatiriſts of the ſame claſs, whoſe works have periſhed.

In the time of Juvenal another variety of the ſame claſs of literature had already ſprung up, more artificial and ſomewhat more indirect than the other, the proſe ſatiric romance. Three celebrated writers repreſent this ſchool. Petronius, who, born about the commencement of our era, died in A.D. 65, is the earlieſt and moſt remarkable of them. He compiled a romance, deſigned as a ſatire on the vices of the age of Nero, in which real perſons are ſuppoſed to be aimed at under fictitious names, and which rivals in licenſe, at leaſt, anything that could have been uttered in the Atellanes or other farces of the *mimi*. Lucian, of Samoſata, who died an old man in the year 200, and who, though he wrote in Greek, may be conſidered as belonging to the Roman ſchool, compoſed ſeveral ſatires of this kind, in one of the moſt remarkable of which, entitled "Lucius, or the Aſs," the author deſcribes himſelf as changed by ſorcery into the form of that animal, under which he paſſes through a number of adventures which illuſtrate the vices and weakneſſes of contemporary ſociety. Apuleius, who was conſiderably the junior of Lucian, made this novel the groundwork of his "Golden Aſs," a much larger and more elaborate work, written in Latin. This work of Apuleius was very popular through ſubſequent ages.

Let us return to Roman caricature, one form of which ſeems to have been eſpecially a favourite among the people. It is difficult to imagine how the ſtory of the pigmies and of their wars with the cranes originated, but it is certainly of great antiquity, as it is ſpoken of in Homer, and it was a very popular legend among the Romans, who eagerly ſought and purchaſed dwarfs to make domeſtic pets of them. The pigmies and cranes occur frequently among the pictorial ornamentations of the houſes of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and the painters of Pompeii not only repreſented them in their proper character, but they made uſe of them for

the purpoſe of caricaturing the various occupations of life—domeſtic and ſocial ſcenes, grave conferences, and many other ſubjects, and even perſonal character. In this claſs of caricatures they gave to the pigmies, or dwarfs, very large heads, and very ſmall legs and arms. I need hardly remark that this is a claſs of caricature which is very common in modern times. Our firſt group of theſe pigmy caricatures (No. 19) is



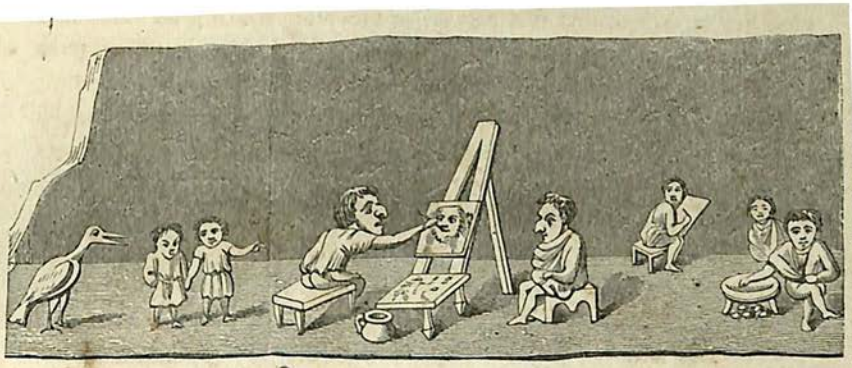
No. 19. The Farm-yard in Burleſque.

taken from a painting on the walls of the Temple of Venus, at Pompeii, and repreſents the interior of a farm-yard in burleſque. The ſtructure in the background is perhaps intended for a hayrick. In front of it, one of the farm ſervants is attending on the poultry. The more important-looking perſonage with the paſtoral ſtaff is poſſibly the overſeer of the farm, who is viſiting the labourers, and this probably is the cauſe why their movements have aſſumed ſo much activity. The labourer on the right is uſing the *aſilla*, a wooden yoke or pole, which was carried over the ſhoulder, with the *corbis*, or baſket, ſuſpended at each end. This was a common method of carrying, and is not unfrequently repreſented on Roman works of art. Several examples might be quoted from the antiquities of Pompeii. Our cut No. 20, from a gem in the Florentine Muſeum, and illuſtrating another claſs of caricature, that of introducing animals performing the actions and duties of men, repreſents a graſshopper carrying the *aſilla* and the *corbes*.

No. 20. An Aſilla-Bearer.

A private

A private houſe in Pompeii furniſhed another example of this ſtyle of caricature, which is given in our cut No. 21. It repreſents the interior of a painter's ſtudio, and is extremely curious on account of the numerous details of his method of operation with which it furniſhes us. The



No. 21. A Painter's Studio.

painter, who is, like moſt of the figures in theſe pigmy caricatures, very ſcantily clothed, is occupied with the portrait of another, who, by the rather exaggerated fulneſs of the gathering of his toga, is evidently intended for a daſhing and faſhionable patrician, though he is ſeated as bare-legged and bare-breeched as the artiſt himſelf. Both are diſtinguiſhed by a large allowance of noſe. The eaſel here employed reſembles greatly the ſame article now in uſe, and might belong to the ſtudio of a modern painter. Before it is a ſmall table, probably formed of a ſlab of ſtone, which ſerves for a palette, on which the painter ſpreads and mixes his colours. To the right a ſervant, who fills the office of colour-grinder, is ſeated by the ſide of a veſſel placed over hot coals, and appears to be preparing colours, mixed, according to the directions given in old writers, with punic wax and oil. In the background is ſeated a ſtudent, whoſe attention is taken from his drawing by what is going on at the other ſide of the room, where two ſmall perſonages are entering, who look as if they were amateurs, and who appear to be talking about the portrait. Behind them ſtands a bird, and when the painting was firſt uncovered

uncovered there were two. Mazois, who made the drawing from which our cut is taken, before the original had periſhed—for it was found in a ſtate of decay—imagined that the birds typified ſome well-known ſingers or muſicians, but they are, perhaps, merely intended for cranes, birds ſo generally aſſociated with the pigmies.

According to an ancient writer, combats of pigmies were favourite repreſentations on the walls of taverns and ſhops ;* and, curiouſly enough, the walls of a ſhop in Pompeii have furniſhed the picture repreſented in our cut No. 22, which has evidently been intended for a caricature,

No. 22. Part of a Triumphal Proceſſion.

probably a parody. All the pigmies in this picture are crowned with laurel, as though the painter intended to turn to ridicule ſome over-pompous triumph, or ſome public, perhaps religious, ceremony. The two figures to the left, who are clothed in yellow and green garments, appear to be diſputing the poſſeſſion of a bowl containing a liquid. One of theſe, like the two figures on the right, has a hoop thrown over his ſhoulder. The firſt of the latter perſonages wears a violet dreſs, and holds in his right hand a rod, and in his left a ſtatuette, apparently of a deity,

* ἐπί τῶν καπηλίων. Problem. Aristotelic. Sec. x. 7.

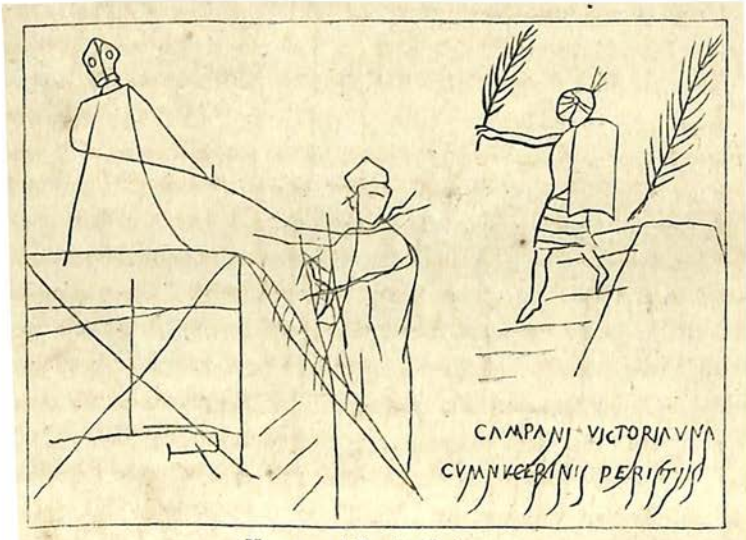
deity, but its attributes are not diſtinguiſhable. The laſt figure to the right has a robe, or mantle, of two colours, red and green, and holds in his hand a branch of a lily, or ſome ſimilar plant; the reſt of the picture is loſt. Behind the other figure ſtands a fifth, who appears younger and more refined in character than the others, and ſeems to be ordering or directing them. His dreſs is red.

We can have no doubt that political and perſonal caricature flouriſhed among the Romans, as we have ſome examples of it on their works of art, chiefly on engraved ſtones, though theſe are moſtly of a character we could not here conveniently introduce; but the ſame rich mine of Roman art and antiquities, Pompeii, has furniſhed us with one ſample of what may be properly conſidered as a political caricature. In the year 59 of the Chriſtian era, at a gladiatorial exhibition in the amphitheatre of Pompeii, where the people of Nuceria were preſent, the latter expreſſed themſelves in ſuch ſcornful terms towards the Pompeians, as led to a violent quarrel, which was followed by a pitched battle between the inhabitants of the two towns, and the Nucerians, being defeated, carried their complaints before the reigning emperor, Nero, who gave judgment in their favour, and condemned the people of Pompeii to ſuſpenſion from all theatrical amuſements for ten years. The feelings of the Pompeians on this occaſion are diſplayed in the rude drawing repreſented in our cut No. 23, which is ſcratched on the plaſter of the external wall of a houſe in the ſtreet to which the Italian antiquarians have given the name of the ſtreet of Mercury. A figure, completely armed, his head covered with what might be taken for a mediæval helmet, is deſcending what appear to be intended for the ſteps of the amphitheatre. He carries in his hand a palm-branch, the emblem of victory. Another palm-branch ſtands erect by his ſide, and underneath is the inſcription, in rather ruſtic Latin, "CAMPANI VICTORIA VNA CVM NVCERINIS PERISTIS"—"O Campanians, you periſhed in the victory together with the Nucerians." The other ſide of the picture is more rudely and haſtily drawn. It has been ſuppoſed to repreſent one of the victors dragging a priſoner, with his arms bound, up a ladder to a ſtage or platform, on which he was perhaps to be exhibited to the jeers of the populace. Four years after this event,

Pompeii

Pompeii was greatly damaged by an earthquake, and ſixteen years later came the eruption of Veſuvius, which buried the town, and left it in the condition in which it is now found.

This curious caricature belongs to a claſs of monuments to which archæologiſts have given technically the Italian name of *graffiti*, ſcratches or ſcrawls, of which a great number, conſiſting chiefly of writing, have been found on the walls of Pompeii. They alſo occur among the remains on other Roman ſites, and one found in Rome itſelf is eſpecially intereſt-



No. 23. *A Popular Caricature.*

ing. During the alterations and extenſions which were made from time to time in the palace of the Cæſars, it had been found neceſſary to build acroſs a narrow ſtreet which interſected the Palatine, and, in order to give ſupport to the ſtructure above, a portion of the ſtreet was walled off, and remained thus hermetically ſealed until about the year 1857, when ſome excavations on the ſpot brought it to view. The walls of the ſtreet were found to be covered with theſe *graffiti*, among which one attracted eſpecial attention, and, having been carefully removed, is now preſerved in the muſeum of the Collegio Romano. It is a caricature upon a Chriſtian named

named Alexamenos, by ſome pagan who deſpiſed Chriſtianity. The Saviour is repreſented under the form of a man with the head of an aſs, extended upon a croſs, the Chriſtian, Alexamenos, ſtanding on one ſide in the attitude of worſhip of that period. Underneath we read the inſcrip-

No. 24. Early Caricature upon a Chriſtian.

tion, ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ CEBETE (for σεβεται) ΘΕΟΝ, "Alexamenos worſhips God." This curious figure, which may be placed among the moſt intereſting as well as early evidences of the truth of Goſpel hiſtory, is copied in our cut No. 24. It was drawn when the prevailing religion at Rome was ſtill pagan, and a Chriſtian was an object of contempt.

CHAPTER III.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE MIDDLE AGES.—THE ROMAN MIMI CONTINUED TO EXIST.—THE TEUTONIC AFTER-DINNER ENTERTAINMENTS.—CLERICAL SATIRES; ARCHBISHOP HERIGER AND THE DREAMER; THE SUPPER OF THE SAINTS.—TRANSITION FROM ANCIENT TO MEDIÆVAL ART.—TASTE FOR MONSTROUS ANIMALS, DRAGONS, ETC.; CHURCH OF SAN FEDELE, AT COMO.—SPIRIT OF CARICATURE AND LOVE OF GROTESQUE AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—GROTESQUE FIGURES OF DEMONS.—NATURAL TENDENCY OF THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL ARTISTS TO DRAW IN CARICATURE.—EXAMPLES FROM EARLY MANUSCRIPTS AND SCULPTURES.

THE tranſition from antiquity to what we uſually underſtand by the name of the middle ages was long and ſlow; it was a period during which much of the texture of the old ſociety was deſtroyed, while at the ſame time a new life was gradually given to that which remained. We know very little of the comic literature of this period of tranſition; its literary remains conſiſt chiefly of a maſs of heavy theology and of lives of ſaints. The ſtage in its perfectly dramatic form—theatre and amphitheatre—had diſappeared. The pure drama, indeed, appears never to have had great vitality among the Romans, whoſe taſtes lay far more among the vulgar performances of the mimics and jeſters, and among the ſavage ſcenes of the amphitheatre. While probably the performance of comedies, ſuch as thoſe of Plautus and Terence, ſoon went out of faſhion, and tragedies, like thoſe of Seneca, were only written as literary compoſitions, imitations of the ſimilar works which formed ſo remarkable a feature in the literature of Greece, the Romans of all ranks loved to witneſs the looſe attitudes of their *mimi*, or liſten to their equally looſe ſongs and ſtories. The theatre and the amphitheatre were ſtate inſtitutions, kept up at the national expenſe, and, as juſt ſtated, they periſhed with the overthrow of the weſtern empire; and the ſanguinary performances of the amphitheatre,

if

if the amphitheatre itſelf continued to be uſed (which was perhaps the caſe in ſome parts of weſtern Europe), and they gave place to the more harmleſs exhibitions of dancing bears and other tamed animals,* for deliberate cruelty was not a characteriſtic of the Teutonic race. But the *mimi*, the performers who ſung ſongs and told ſtories, accompanied with dancing and muſic, ſurvived the fall of the empire, and continued to be as popular as ever. St. Auguſtine, in the fourth century, calls theſe things *neſaria*, deteſtable things, and ſays that they were performed at night.† We trace in the capitularies the continuous exiſtence of theſe performances during the ages which followed the empire, and, as in the time of St. Auguſtine, they ſtill formed the amuſement of nocturnal aſſemblies. The capitulary of Childebert proſcribes thoſe who paſſed their nights with drunkenneſs, jeſting, and ſongs.‡ The council of Narbonne, in the year 589, forbade people to ſpend their nights "with dancings and filthy ſongs."§ The council of Mayence, in 813, calls theſe ſongs "filthy and licentious" (*turpia atque luxurioſa*); and that of Paris ſpeaks of them as "obſcene and filthy" (*obſcœna et turpia*); while in another they are called "frivolous and diabolic." From the bitterneſs with which the eccleſiaſtical ordinances are expreſſed, it is probable that theſe performances continued to preſerve much of their old paganiſm; yet it is curious that they are ſpoken of in theſe capitularies and acts of the councils as being ſtill practiſed in the religious feſtivals, and even in the churches, ſo tenaciouſly did the old ſentiments of the race keep their poſſeſſion of the minds of the populace, long after they had embraced Chriſtianity. Theſe "ſongs," as they are called, continued alſo to conſiſt not only of general, but of perſonal ſatire, and contained ſcandalous

* On this subject, see my "History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments," p. 65. The dancing-bear appears to have been a favourite performer among the Germans at a very early period.

† Per totam noctem cantabantur hic nefaria et a cantatoribus saltabatur. Augustini Serm. 311, part v.

‡ Noctes pervigiles cum ebrietate, scurrilitate, vel canticis. See the Capitulary in Labbei Concil., vol. v.

§ Ut populi. . . . . saltationibus et turpibus invigilant canticis.

ſcandalous ſtories of perſons living, and well known to thoſe who heard them. A capitulary of the Frankiſh king Childeric III., publiſhed in the year 744, is directed againſt thoſe who compoſe and ſing ſongs in defamation of others (*in blaſphemiam alterius*, to uſe the rather energetic language of the original); and it is evident that this offence was a very common one, for it is not unfrequently repeated in later records of this character in the ſame words or in words to the ſame purpoſe. Thus one reſult of the overthrow of the Roman empire was to leave comic literature almoſt in the ſame condition in which it was found by Theſpis in Greece and by Livius Andronicus in Rome. There was nothing in it which would be contrary to the feelings of the new races who had now planted themſelves in the Roman provinces.

The Teutonic and Scandinavian nations had no doubt their popular feſtivals, in which mirth and frolic bore ſway, though we know little about them; but there were circumſtances in their domeſtic manners which implied a neceſſity for amuſement. After the comparatively early meal, the hall of the primitive Teuton was the ſcene—eſpecially in the darker months of winter—of long ſittings over the feſtive board, in which there was much drinking and much talking, and, as we all know, ſuch talking could not preſerve long a very ſerious tone. From Bede's account of the poet Cædmon, we learn that it was the practice of the Anglo-Saxons in the ſeventh century, at their entertainments, for all thoſe preſent to ſing in their turns, each accompanying himſelf with a muſical inſtrument. From the ſequel of the ſtory we are led to ſuppoſe that theſe ſongs were extemporary effuſions, probably mythic legends, ſtories of perſonal adventure, praiſe of themſelves, or vituperation of their enemies. In the chieftain's houſehold there appears to have been uſually ſome individual who acted the part of the ſatiriſt, or, as we ſhould perhaps now ſay, the comedian. Hunferth appears as holding ſome ſuch poſition in Beowulf; in the later romances, Sir Kay held a ſimilar poſition at the court of king Arthur. At a ſtill later period, the place of theſe heroes was occupied by the court fool. The Roman *mimus* muſt have been a welcome addition to the entertainments of the Teutonic hall, and there is every reaſon to think that he was cordially received. The performances of

of the hall were ſoon delegated from the gueſts to ſuch hired actors, and we have repreſentations of them in the illuminations of Anglo-Saxon manuſcripts.* Among the earlieſt amuſements of the Anglo-Saxon table were riddles, which in every form preſent ſome of the features of the comic, and are capable of being made the ſource of much laughter. The ſaintly Aldhelm condeſcended to write ſuch riddles in Latin verſe, which were, of courſe, intended for the tables of the clergy. In primitive ſociety, verſe was the ordinary form of conveying ideas. A large portion of the celebrated collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry known as the "Exeter Book," conſiſts of riddles, and this taſte for riddles has continued to exiſt down to our own times. But other forms of entertainment, if they did not already exiſt, were ſoon introduced. In a curious Latin poem, older than the twelfth century, of which fragments only are preſerved, and have been publiſhed under the title of "Ruodlieb," and which appears to have been a tranſlation of a much earlier German romance, we have a curious deſcription of the poſt-prandial entertainments after the dinner of a great Teutonic chieftain, or king. In the firſt place there was a grand diſtribution of rich preſents, and then were ſhown ſtrange animals, and among the reſt tame bears. Theſe bears ſtood upon their hind legs, and performed ſome of the offices of a man; and when the minſtrels (*mimi*) came in, and played upon their muſical inſtruments, theſe animals danced to the muſic, and performed all ſorts of ſtrange tricks.

Et pariles urſi. . . . .
Qui vas tollebant, ut homo, bipedeſque gerebant.
Mimi quando fides digitis tangunt modulantes,
Illi ſaltabant, neumas pedibus variabant.
Interdum ſaliunt, ſeſeque ſuper jaciebant.
Alterutrum dorſo ſe portabant reſidendo,
Amplexando ſe, luctando deficiunt ſe.

Then followed dancing-girls, and exhibitions of other kinds.†

Although

* The reader is referred, for further information on this subject, to my "History of Domeſtic Manners and Sentiments," pp. 33-39.

† This curious Latin poem was printed by Grimm and Schmeller, in their Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jh., p. 129.

Although theſe performances were proſcribed by the eccleſiaſtical laws, they were not diſcountenanced by the eccleſiaſtics themſelves, who, on the contrary, indulged as much in after-dinner amuſements as any body. The laws againſt the profane ſongs are often directed eſpecially at the clergy; and it is evident that among the Anglo-Saxons, as well as on the Continent, not only the prieſts and monks, but the nuns alſo, in their love of ſuch amuſements, far tranſgreſſed the bounds of decency.* Theſe entertainments were the cradle of comic literature, but, as this literature in the early ages of its hiſtory was rarely committed to writing, it has almoſt entirely periſhed. But, at the tables of the eccleſiaſtics, theſe ſtories were ſometimes told in Latin verſe, and as Latin was not ſo eaſily carried in the memory as the vernacular tongue, in this language they were ſometimes committed to writing, and thus a few examples of early comic literature have fortunately been preſerved. Theſe conſiſt chiefly of popular ſtories, which were among the favourite amuſements of mediæval ſociety—ſtories many of which are derived from the earlieſt period of the hiſtory of our race, and are ſtill cheriſhed among our peaſantry. Such are the ſtories of the Child of Snow, and of the Mendacious Hunter, preſerved in a manuſcript of the eleventh century.† The firſt of theſe was a very popular ſtory in the middle ages. According to this early verſion, a merchant of Conſtance, in Switzerland, was detained abroad for ſeveral years, during which time his wife made other acquaintance, and bore a child. On his return, ſhe excuſed her fault by telling him that on a cold wintry day ſhe had ſwallowed ſnow, by which ſhe had conceived; and, in revenge, the huſband carried away the child, and ſold it into ſlavery, and returning, told

* On the character of the nuns among the Anglo-Saxons, and indeed of the inmates of the monaſtic houſes generally, I would refer my readers to the excellent and intereſting volume by Mr. John Thrupp, "The Anglo-Saxon Home: a Hiſtory of the Domeſtic Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms of England from the fifth to the eleventh century." London, 1862.

† Theſe will be found in M. Edélestand du Méril's Poéſies Populaires Latines antérieures au douzième ſiècle, pp. 275, 276.

told its mother, that the infant which had originated in ſnow, had melted away under a hotter ſun. Some of theſe ſtories originated in the different collections of fables, which were part of the favourite literature of the later Roman period. Another is rather a ridiculous ſtory of an aſs belonging to two ſiſters in a nunnery, which was devoured by a wolf.* It is curious how ſoon the mediæval clergy began to imitate their pagan predeceſſors in parodying religious ſubjects and forms, of which we have one or two very curious examples. Viſits to purgatory, hell, and paradiſe, in body or ſpirit, were greatly in faſhion during the earlier part of the middle ages, and afforded extremely good material for ſatire. In a metrical Latin ſtory, preſerved in a manuſcript of the eleventh century, we are told how a "prophet," or viſionary, went to Heriger, archbiſhop of Mayence from 912 to 926, and told him that he had been carried in a viſion to the regions below, and deſcribed them as a place ſurrounded by thick woods. It was the Teutonic notion of hell, and indeed of all ſettlements of peoples; and Heriger replied with a ſneer that he would ſend his herdſmen there with his lean ſwine to fatten them. Each "mark," or land of a family or clan, in the early Teutonic ſettlements, was ſurrounded by woodland, which was common to all members of the clan for fattening their ſwine and hunting. The falſe dreamer added, that he was afterwards carried to heaven, where he ſaw Chriſt ſitting at the table and eating. John the Baptiſt was butler, and ſerved excellent wine round to the ſaints, who were the Lord's gueſts. St. Peter was the chief cook. After ſome remarks on the appointments to theſe two offices, archbiſhop Heriger aſked the informant how he was received in the heavenly hall, where he ſat, and what he eat. He replied that he ſat in a corner, and ſtole from the cooks a piece of liver, which he eat, and then departed. Inſtead of rewarding him for his information, Heriger took him on his own confeſſion

for

* This, and the metrical story next referred to, were printed in the "Altdeutsche Blätter," edited by Moriz Haupt and Heinrich Hoffmann, vol. i. pp. 390, 392, to whom I communicated them from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge.

for the theft, and ordered him to be bound to a ſtake and flogged, which, for the offence, was rather a light puniſhment.

Heriger illum
juſſit ad palum
loris ligari,
ſcopiſque cedi,
ſermone duro
hunc arguendo.

Theſe lines will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the popular Latin verſe in which theſe monkiſh after-dinner ſtories were written; but the moſt remarkable of theſe early parodies on religious ſubjects, is one which may be deſcribed as the ſupper of the ſaints; its title is ſimply *Cœna.* It is falſely aſcribed to St. Cyprian, who lived in the third century; but it is as old as the tenth century, as a copy was printed by profeſſor Endlicher from a manuſcript of that period at Vienna. It was ſo popular, that it is found and known to have exiſted in different forms in verſe and in proſe. It is a ſort of drollery, founded upon the wedding feaſt at which the Saviour changed water into wine, though that miracle is not at all introduced into it. It was a great king of the Eaſt, named Zoel, who held his nuptial feaſt at Cana of Galilee. The perſonages invited are all ſcriptural, beginning with Adam. Before the feaſt, they waſh in the river Jordan, and the number of the gueſts was ſo great, that ſeats could not be provided for them, and they took their places as they could. Adam took the firſt place, and ſeated himſelf in the middle of the aſſembly, and next to him Eve ſat upon leaves (*ſuper folia*),—fig-leaves, we may ſuppoſe. Cain ſat on a plough, Abel on a milk-pail, Noah on an ark, Japhet on tiles, Abraham on a tree, Iſaac on an altar, Lot near the door, and ſo with a long liſt of others. Two were obliged to ſtand—Paul, who bore it patiently, and Eſau, who grumbled—while Job lamented bitterly becauſe he was obliged to ſit on a dunghill. Moſes, and others, who came late, were obliged to find ſeats out of doors. When the king ſaw that all his gueſts had arrived, he took them into his wardrobe, and there, in the ſpirit of mediæval generoſity, diſtributed to them dreſſes, which had all ſome burleſque alluſion to their particular characters. Before they were allowed to ſit down

down to the feaſt, they were obliged to go through other ceremonies, which, as well as the eating, are deſcribed in the ſame ſtyle of caricature. The wines, of which there was great variety, were ſerved to the gueſts with the ſame alluſions to their individual characters; but ſome of them complained that they were badly mixed, although Jonah was the butler. In the ſame manner are deſcribed the proceedings which followed the dinner, the waſhing of hands, and the deſſert, to the latter of which Adam contributed apples, Samſon honey; while David played on the harp and Mary on the tabor; Judith led the round dance; Jubal played on the pſalter; Aſael ſung ſongs, and Herodias acted the part of the dancing-girl:—

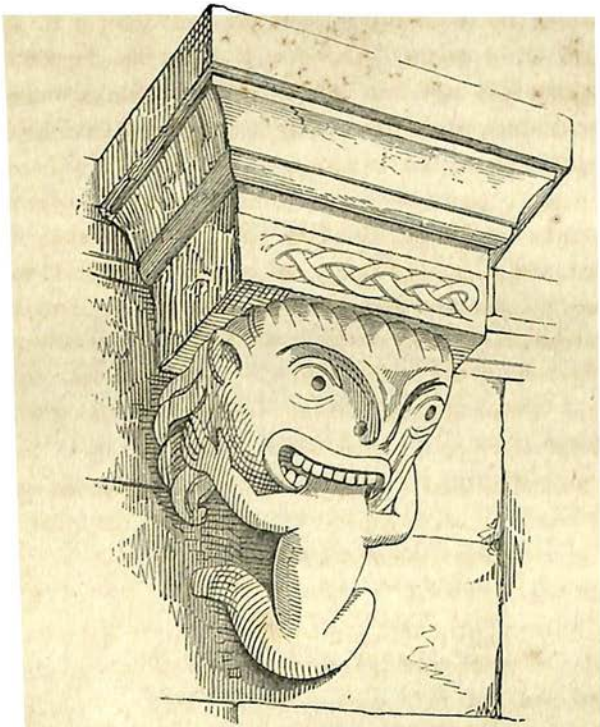
Tunc Adam poma miniſtrat, Samſon favi dulcia.
David cytharum percuſſit, et Maria tympana.
Judith choreas ducebat, et Jubal pſalteria.
Aſael metra canebat, ſaltabat Herodias.

Mambres entertained the company with his magical performances; and the other incidents of a mediæval feſtival followed, throughout which the ſame tone of burleſque is continued; and ſo the ſtory continues, to the end.* We ſhall find theſe incipient forms of mediæval comic literature largely developed as we go on.

The period between antiquity and the middle ages was one of ſuch great and general deſtruction, that the gulf between ancient and mediæval art ſeems to us greater and more abrupt than it really was. The want of monuments, no doubt, prevents our ſeeing the gradual change of one into the other, but neverthelefs enough of facts remain to convince us that it was not a ſudden change. It is now indeed generally underſtood that the knowledge and practice of the arts and manufactures of the Romans were handed onward from maſter to pupil after the empire had fallen; and this took place eſpecially in the towns, ſo that the workmanſhip

* The text of this ſingular compoſition, with a full account of the various forms in which it was published, will be found in M. du Méril's "Poéſies Populaires Latines antérieures au douzième ſiècle," p. 193.

ſhip which had been declining in character during the later periods of the empire, only continued in the courſe of degradation afterwards. Thus, in the firſt Chriſtian edifices, the builders who were employed, or at leaſt many of them, muſt have been pagans, and they would follow their old models of ornamentation, introducing the ſame groteſque



No. 25. Saturn Devouring his Child.

figures, the ſame maſks and monſtrous faces, and even ſometimes the ſame ſubjects from the old mythology, to which they had been accuſtomed. It is to be obſerved, too, that this kind of iconographical ornamentation had been encroaching more and more upon the old architectural purity during the latter ages of the empire, and that it was employed more profuſely in the later works, from which this taſte was transferred to the eccleſiaſtical

eccleſiaſtical and to the domeſtic architecture of the middle ages. After the workmen themſelves had become Chriſtians, they ſtill found pagan emblems and figures in their models, and ſtill went on imitating them, ſometimes merely copying, and at others turning them to caricature or burleſque. And this tendency continued ſo long, that, at a much later date, where there ſtill exiſted remains of Roman buildings, the mediæval architects adopted them as models, and did not heſitate to copy the ſculpture, although it might be evidently pagan in character. The accompanying cut (No. 25) repreſents a bracket in the church of Mont Majour, near Niſmes, built in the tenth century. The ſubject is a monſtrous head eating a child, and we can hardly doubt that it was really intended for a caricature on Saturn devouring one of his children.

Sometimes the mediæval ſculptors miſtook the emblematical deſigns of the Romans, and miſapplied them, and gave an allegorical meaning to that which was not intended to be emblematical or allegorical, until the ſubjects themſelves became extremely confuſed. They readily employed that claſs of parody of the ancients in which animals were repreſented performing the actions of men, and they had a great taſte for monſters of every deſcription, eſpecially thoſe which were made up of portions of incongruous animals joined together, in contradiction to the precept of Horace:—

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere ſi velit, et varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Deſinet in piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne;
Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis, amici?

The mediæval architects loved ſuch repreſentations, always and in all parts, and examples are abundant. At Como, in Italy, there is a very ancient and remarkable church dedicated to San Fedele (Saint Fidelis); it has been conſidered to be of ſo early a date as the fifth century. The ſculptures that adorn the doorway, which is triangular-headed, are eſpecially intereſting. On one of theſe, repreſented in our cut No. 26, in a compartment to the left, appears a figure of an angel, holding in one hand a dwarf figure, probably intended for a child, by a lock of his hair,

No. 26. Sculpture from San Fedele, at Como.

and with the other hand directing his attention to a ſeated figure in the compartment below. This latter figure has apparently the head of a ſheep, and as the head is ſurrounded with a large nimbus, and the right hand is held out in the attitude of benediction, it may be intended to repreſent the Lamb. This perſonage is ſeated on ſomething which is difficult to make out, but which looks ſomewhat like a crab-fiſh. The boy in the compartment above carries a large baſin in his arms. The adjoining compartment to the right contains the repreſentation of a conflict between a dragon, a winged ſerpent, and a winged fox. On the oppoſite ſide of the door, two winged monſters are repreſented devouring a lamb's head. I owe the drawing from which this and the preceding engraving were made to my friend Mr. John Robinſon, the architect, who made the ſketches while travelling with the medal of the Royal Academy. Figures of dragons, as ornaments, were great favourites with the peoples of the Teutonic race; they were creatures intimately wrapped up in their national mythology and romance, and they are found on all their artiſtic monuments mingled together in groteſque forms and groups. When the Anglo-Saxons began to ornament their books, the dragon was continually introduced for ornamental borders and in forming initial letters. One of the latter, from an Anglo-Saxon manuſcript of the tenth century (the well-known manuſcript of Cædmon, where it is given as an initial V), is repreſented in our cut on the next page, No. 27.

Caricature and burleſque are naturally intended to be heard and ſeen publicly, and would therefore be figured on ſuch monuments as were moſt expoſed to popular gaze. Such was the caſe, in the earlier periods of the middle ages, chiefly with eccleſiaſtical buildings, which explains how they became the grand receptacles of this claſs of Art. We have few traces of what may be termed comic literature among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, but this is fully explained by the circumſtance that very little of the popular Anglo-Saxon literature has been preſerved. In their feſtive hours the Anglo-Saxons ſeem to have eſpecially amuſed themſelves in boaſting of what they had done, and what they could do; and theſe boaſts were perhaps often of a burleſque character, like the *gabs* of the French and Anglo-Norman romancers of a later date, or ſo extravagant

extravagant as to produce laughter. The chieftains appear alſo to have encouraged men who could make jokes, and ſatiriſe and caricature others; for the company of ſuch men ſeems to have been cheriſhed, and they are not unfrequently introduced in the ſtories. Such a perſonage, as I have remarked before, is Hunferth in Beowulf; ſuch was the Sir Kay of the later Arthurian romances; and ſuch too was the Norman minſtrel in the hiſtory of Hereward, who amuſed the Norman ſoldiers at their feaſts by mimicry of the manners of their Anglo-Saxon opponents. The too perſonal ſatire of theſe wits often led to quarrels, which ended in

No. 27. Anglo-Saxon Dragons.

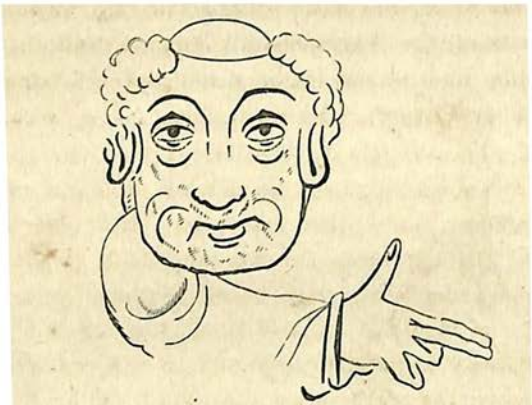
ſanguinary brawls. The Anglo-Saxon love of caricature is ſhown largely in their proper names, which were moſtly ſignificant of perſonal qualities their parents hoped they would poſſeſs; and in theſe we remark the proneneſs of the Teutonic race, as well as the peoples of antiquity, to repreſent theſe qualities by the animals ſuppoſed to poſſeſs them, the animals moſt popular being the wolf and the bear. But it is not to be expected that the hopes of the parents in giving the name would always be fulfilled, and it is not an uncommon thing to find individuals loſing their original names to receive in their place nicknames, or names which probably

probably expreſſed qualities they did poſſeſs, and which were given to them by their acquaintances. Theſe names, though often not very complimentary, and even ſometimes very much the contrary, completely ſuperſeded the original name, and were even accepted by the individuals to whom they applied. The ſecond names were indeed ſo generally acknowledged, that they were uſed in ſigning legal documents. An Anglo-Saxon abbeſs of rank, whoſe real name was Hrodwaru, but who was known univerſally by the name Bugga, the Bug, wrote this latter name in ſigning charters. We can hardly doubt that ſuch a name was intended to aſcribe to her qualities of a not agreeable character, and very different to thoſe implied by the original name, which perhaps meant, a dweller in heaven. Another lady gained the name of the Crow. It is well known that ſurnames did not come into uſe till long after the Anglo-Saxon period, but appellatives, like theſe nicknames, were often added to the name for the purpoſe of diſtinction, or at pleaſure, and theſe, too, being given by other people, were frequently ſatirical. Thus, one Harold, for his ſwiftneſs, was called Hare-foot; a well-known Edith, for the elegant form of her neck, was called Swan-neck; and a Thurcyl, for a form of his head, which can hardly have been called beautiful, was named Mare's-head. Among many other names, quite as ſatirical as the laſt-mentioned, we find Flat-noſe, the Ugly, Squint-eye, Hawk-noſe, &c.

Of Anglo-Saxon ſculpture we have little left, but we have a few illuminated manuſcripts which preſent here and there an attempt at caricature, though they are rare. It would ſeem, however, that the two favourite ſubjects of caricature among the Anglo-Saxons were the clergy and the evil one. We have abundant evidence that, from the eighth century downwards, neither the Anglo-Saxon clergy nor the Anglo-Saxon nuns were generally objects of much reſpect among the people; and their character and the manner of their lives ſufficiently account for it. Perhaps, alſo, it was increaſed by the hoſtility between the old clergy and the new reformers of Dunſtan's party, who would no doubt caricature each other. A manuſcript pſalter, in the Univerſity Library, Cambridge (Ff. 1, 23), of the Anglo-Saxon period, and apparently of the tenth

tenth century, illuſtrated with rather groteſque initial letters, furniſhes us with the figure of a jolly Anglo-Saxon monk, given in our cut No. 28, and which it is hardly neceſſary to ſtate repreſents the letter Q. As we proceed, we ſhall ſee the clergy continuing to furniſh a butt for the ſhafts of ſatire through all the middle ages.

The inclination to give to the demons (the middle ages always looked upon them as innumerable) monſtrous forms, which eaſily ran into the



No. 28. A Jolly Monk.

groteſque, was natural, and the painter, indeed, prided himſelf on drawing them ugly; but he was no doubt influenced in ſo generally caricaturing them, by mixing up this idea with thoſe furniſhed by the popular ſuperſtitions of the Teutonic race, who believed in multitudes of ſpirits, repreſentatives of the ancient ſatyrs, who were of a playfully malicious deſcription, and went about plaguing mankind in a very droll manner, and ſometimes appeared to them in equally droll forms. They were the Pucks and Robin Goodfellows of later times; but the Chriſtian miſſionaries to the weſt taught their converts to believe, and probably believed themſelves, that all theſe imaginary beings were real demons, who wandered over the earth for people's ruin and deſtruction. Thus the groteſque imagination of the converted people was introduced into the Chriſtian ſyſtem of demonology. It is a part of the ſubject to which we ſhall return in our next chapter; but I will here introduce two examples of the

the Anglo-Saxon demons. To explain the firſt of theſe, it will be neceſſary to ſtate that, according to the mediæval notions, Satan, the arch demon, who had fallen from heaven for his rebellion againſt the Almighty, was not a free agent who went about tempting mankind, but he was himſelf plunged in the abyſs, where he was held in bonds, and tormented by the demons who peopled the infernal regions, and alſo iſſued thence to ſeek their prey upon God's neweſt creation, the earth. The hiſtory of Satan's fall, and the deſcription of his poſition (No. 29), form the ſubject of the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon poetry aſcribed to Cædmon, and it is one of the illuminations to the manuſcript of Cædmon (which is now preſerved at Oxford), which has furniſhed us with our cut,

No. 29. Satan in Bonds.

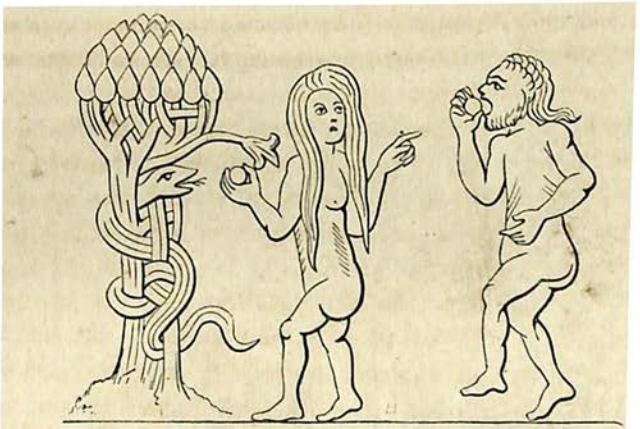
repreſenting Satan in his bonds. The fiend is here pictured bound to ſtakes, over what appears to be a gridiron, while one of the demons, riſing out of a fiery furnace, and holding in his hand an inſtrument of puniſhment, ſeems to be exulting over him, and at the ſame time urging on the troop of groteſque imps who are ſwarming round and tormenting their victim. The next cut, No. 30, is alſo taken from an Anglo-Saxon manuſcript

manuſcript, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Cotton., Tiberius, C. vi.), which belongs to the earlier half of the eleventh century, and contains a copy of the pſalter. It gives us the Anglo-Saxon notion of the demon under another form, equally characteriſtic, wearing only a girdle of flames, but in this caſe the eſpecial ſingularity of the deſign conſiſts in the eyes in the fiend's wings.

No. 30 *Satan.*

Another circumſtance had no doubt an influence on the mediæval taſte for groteſque and caricature—the natural rudeneſs of early mediæval art. The writers of antiquity tell us of a remote period of Grecian art when it was neceſſary to write under each figure of a picture the name of what it was intended to repreſent, in order to make the whole intelligible—"this is a horſe," "this is a man," "this is a tree." Without being quite ſo rude as this, the early mediæval artiſts, through ignorance of perſpective, want of knowledge of proportion, and of ſkill in drawing, found great difficulty in repreſenting a ſcene in which there was more than one figure, and in which it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them from each other; and they were continually trying to help themſelves by adopting conventional forms or conventional poſitions, and by ſometimes adding ſymbols that did not exactly repreſent what they meant. The exaggeration in form conſiſted chiefly in giving an undue prominence to ſome characteriſtic feature, which anſwered the ſame purpoſe as the Anglo-Saxon nickname and diſtinctive name, and which is, in fact, one of the firſt principles of all caricature. Conventional poſitions partook much of the character of conventional forms, but gave ſtill greater room for groteſque. Thus the very firſt characteriſtics of mediæval art implied the exiſtence of caricature, and no doubt led to the taſte for the groteſque. The effect of this influence

influence is apparent everywhere, and in innumerable caſes ſerious pictures of the graveſt and moſt important ſubjects are ſimply and abſolutely caricatures. Anglo-Saxon art ran much into this ſtyle, and is often very groteſque in character. The firſt example we give (cut No. 31) is taken from one of the illuſtrations to Alfric's Anglo-



No. 31. The Temptation.

Saxon verſion of the Pentateuch, in the profuſely illuminated manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Cotton., Claudius B iv.), which was written at the end of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh, century. It repreſents the temptation and fall of man; and the ſubject is treated, as will be ſeen, in a rather groteſque manner. Eve is evidently dictating to her huſband, who, in obeying her, ſhows a mixture of eagerneſs and trepidation Adam is no leſs evidently going to ſwallow the apple whole, which is, perhaps, in accordance with the mediæval legend, according to which the fruit ſtuck in his throat. It is hardly neceſſary to remark that the tree is entirely a conventional one; and it would be difficult to imagine how it came to bear apples at all. The mediæval artiſts were extremely unſkilful in drawing trees; to theſe they uſually gave the forms of cabbages, or ſome ſuch plants, of which the form was ſimple, or often of a mere bunch of leaves. Our next example (cut No. 32) is alſo

Anglo-Saxon, and is furniſhed by the manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum already mentioned (MS. Cotton., Tiberius C vi.) It probably repreſents young David killing the lion, and is remarkable not only for the ſtrange poſture and bad proportions of the man, but for the tranquillity of the animal and the exaggerated and violent action of its ſlayer. This is very commonly the caſe in the mediæval drawings and ſculptures, the artiſts apparently poſſeſſing far leſs ſkill in repreſenting action in an animal than in man, and therefore more rarely attempting it. Theſe illuſtrations are

No. 32. David and the Lion.

both taken from illuminated manuſcripts. The two which follow are furniſhed by ſculptures, and are of a rather later date than the preceding. The abbey of St. George of Boſcherville, in the dioceſe of Auxerre (in Normandy), was founded by Ralph de Tancarville, one of the miniſters of William the Conqueror, and therefore in the latter half of the eleventh century. A hiſtory of this religious houſe was publiſhed by a clever local antiquary—M. Achille Deville—from whoſe work we take our cut No. 33, one

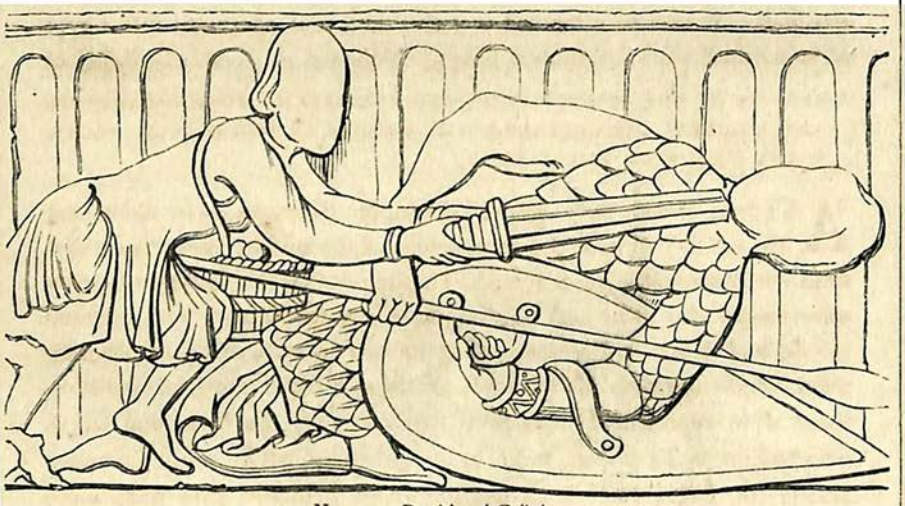
one of a few rude ſculptures on the abbey church, which no doubt belonged to the original fabric. It is not difficult to recogniſe the ſubject as Joſeph taking the Virgin Mary with her Child into Egypt; but there is ſomething exceedingly droll in the unintentional caricature of the faces, as well as in the whole deſign. The Virgin Mary appears without a nimbus, while the nimbus of the Infant Jeſus is made to look very like a bonnet. It may be remarked that this ſubject of the flight into Egypt is by no means an uncommon one in mediæval art; and a drawing of

No. 33. *The Flight into Egypt.*

the ſame ſubject, copied in my "Hiſtory of Domeſtic Manners and Sentiments" (p. 115), preſents a remarkable illuſtration of the contraſt of the ſkill of a Norman ſculptor and of an almoſt contemporary Anglo-Norman illuminator. Our cut alſo furniſhes us with evidence of the error of the old opinion that ladies rode aſtride in the middle ages. Even one, who by his ſtyle of art muſt have been an obſcure local carver on ſtone, when he repreſented a female on horſeback, placed her in the poſition which has always been conſidered ſuitable to the ſex.

For

For the drawing of the other ſculpture to which I allude, I am indebted to Mr. Robinſon. It is one of the ſubjects carved on the façade of the church of St. Gilles, near Niſmes, and is a work of the twelfth century. It appears to repreſent the young David ſlaying the giant Goliah, the latter fully armed in ſcale armour, and with ſhield



No. 34. David and Goliah.

and ſpear, like a Norman knight; while to David the artiſt has given a figure which is feminine in its forms. What we might take at firſt ſight for a baſket of apples, appears to be meant for a ſupply of ſtones for the ſling which the young hero carries ſuſpended from his neck. He has ſlain the giant with one of theſe, and is cutting off his head with his own ſword.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIABOLICAL IN CARICATURE.—MEDIÆVAL LOVE OF THE LUDICROUS.—CAUSES WHICH MADE IT INFLUENCE THE NOTIONS OF DEMONS.—STORIES OF THE PIOUS PAINTER AND THE ERRING MONK.—DARKNESS AND UGLINESS CARICATURED.—THE DEMONS IN THE MIRACLE PLAYS.—THE DEMON OF NOTRE DAME.

AS I have already ſtated in the laſt chapter, there can be no doubt that the whole ſyſtem of the demonology of the middle ages was derived from the older pagan mythology. The demons of the monkiſh legends were ſimply the elves and hobgoblins of our forefathers, who haunted woods, and fields, and waters, and delighted in miſleading or plaguing mankind, though their miſchief was uſually of a rather mirthful character. They were repreſented in claſſical mythology by the fauns and ſatyrs, who had, as we have ſeen, much to do with the birth of comic literature among the Greeks and Romans; but theſe Teutonic elves were more ubiquitous than the ſatyrs, as they even haunted men's houſes, and played tricks, not only of a miſchievous, but of a very familiar character. The Chriſtian clergy did not look upon the perſonages of the popular ſuperſtitions as fabulous beings, but they taught that they were all diabolical, and that they were ſo many agents of the evil one, conſtantly employed in enticing and entrapping mankind. Hence, in the mediæval legends, we frequently find demons preſenting themſelves under ludicrous forms or in ludicrous ſituations; or performing acts, ſuch as eating and drinking, which are not in accordance with their real character; or at times even letting themſelves be outwitted or entrapped by mortals in a very undignified manner. Although they aſſumed any form they pleaſed, their natural form was remarkable chiefly for being extremely ugly; one of them, which appeared in a wild wood, is deſcribed by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote at the end of the twelfth century, as being hairy, ſhaggy,

ſhaggy, and rough, and monſtrouſly deformed.* According to a mediæval ſtory, which was told in different forms, a great man's cellar was once haunted by theſe demons, who drank all his wine, while the owner was totally at a loſs to account for its rapid diſappearance. After many unſucceſsful attempts to diſcover the depredators, ſome one, probably ſuſpecting the truth, ſuggeſted that he ſhould mark one of the barrels with holy water, and next morning a demon, much reſembling the deſcription given by Giraldus, was found ſtuck faſt to the barrel. It is told alſo of Edward the Confeſſor, that he once went to ſee the tribute

No. 35. *The Demon of the Treaſure.*

called the Danegeld, and it was ſhown to him all packed up in great barrels ready to be ſent away—for this appears to have been the uſual mode of tranſporting large quantities of money. The ſaintly king had the faculty of being able to ſee ſpiritual beings—a ſort of ſpiritual ſecond-ſight

* "Formam quandam viliosam, hispidam, et hirsutam, adeoque enormiter deformem." Girald. Camb., Itiner. Camb., lib. i. c. 5.

ſight—and he beheld ſeated on the largeſt barrel, a devil, who was "black and hideous."

Vit un déable ſaer deſus
Le treſor, noir et hidus.—Life of S. Edward, l. 944.

An early illuminator, in a manuſcript preſerved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. Trin. Col., B x. 2), has left us a pictorial repreſentation of this ſcene, from which I copy his notion of the form of the demon in cut No. 35. The general idea is evidently taken from the figure of the goat, and the relationſhip between the demon and the claſſical ſatyr is very evident.

Uglineſs was an eſſential characteriſtic of the demons, and, moreover, their features have uſually a mirthful caſt, as though they greatly enjoyed their occupation. There is a mediæval ſtory of a young monk, who was ſacriſtan to an abbey, and had the directions of the building and ornamentation. The carvers of ſtone were making admirable repreſentations of hell and paradiſe, in the former of which the demons "ſeemed to take great delight in well tormenting their victims"—

Qui par ſemblant ſe délitoit
En ce que bien les tormentoit.

The ſacriſtan, who watched the ſculptors every day, was at laſt moved by pious zeal to try and imitate them, and he ſet to work to make a devil himſelf, with ſuch ſucceſs, that his fiend was ſo black and ugly that nobody could look at it without terror.

Tant qu'un déable à fere empriſt;
Si i miſt ſa poine et ſa cure,
Que la forme fu ſi oſcure
Et ſi laide, que cil doutaſt
Que entre deus oilz l'eſgardaſt.

The ſacriſtan, encouraged by his ſucceſs—for it muſt be underſtood that his art was a ſudden inſpiration (as he had not been an artiſt before)—continued his work till it was completed, and then "it was ſo horrible and ſo ugly, that all who ſaw it affirmed upon their oaths that they had never

never ſeen ſo ugly a figure either in ſculpture or in painting, or one which had ſo repulſive an appearance, or a devil which was a better likeneſs than the one this monk had made for them "—

Si horribles fu et ſi lez,
Que treſtouz cels que le véoient
Seur leur ſerement afermoient
C'onques mès ſi laide figure,
Ne en taille ne en peinture,
N'avoient à nul jor véue,
Qui ſi éuſt laide véue,
Ne déable miex contreſet
Que cil moines leur avoit fet.—Meon's Fabliaux, tom. ii. p. 414.

The demon himſelf now took offence at the affront which had been put upon him, and appearing the night following to the ſacriſtan, reproached him with having made him ſo ugly, and enjoined him to break the ſculpture, and execute another repreſenting him better looking, on pain of very ſevere puniſhment; but, although this viſit was repeated thrice, the pious monk refuſed to comply. The evil one now began to work in another way, and, by his cunning, he drew the ſacriſtan into a diſgraceful amour with a lady of the neighbourhood, and they plotted not only to elope together by night, but to rob the monaſtery of its treaſure, which was of courſe in the keeping of the ſacriſtan. They were diſcovered, and caught in their flight, laden with the treaſure, and the unfaithful ſacriſtan was thrown into priſon. The fiend now appeared to him, and promiſed to clear him out of all his trouble on the mere condition that he ſhould break his ugly ſtatue, and make another repreſenting him as looking handſome—a bargain to which the ſacriſtan acceded without further heſitation. It would thus appear that the demons did not like to be repreſented ugly. In this caſe, the fiend immediately took the form and place of the ſacriſtan, while the latter went to his bed as if nothing had happened. When the other monks found him there next morning, and heard him diſclaim all knowledge of the robbery or of the priſon, they hurried to the latter place, and found the devil in chains, who, when they attempted to exorciſe him, behaved in a very turbulent manner, and diſappeared

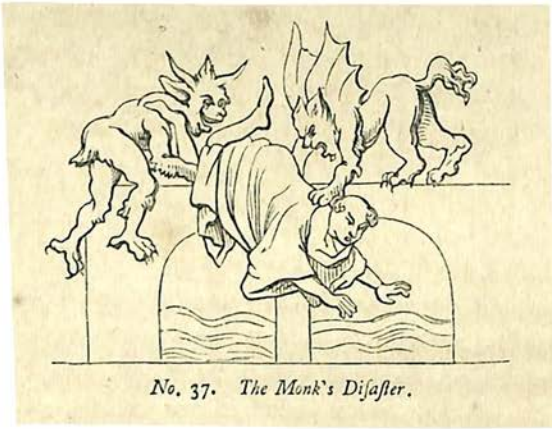
diſappeared from their ſight. The monks believed that it was all a deception of the evil one, while the ſacriſtan, who was not inclined to brave his diſpleaſure a ſecond time, performed faithfully his part of the contract, and made a devil who did not look ugly. In another verſion of the ſtory, however, it ends differently. After the third warning, the monk went in defiance of the devil, and made his picture uglier than ever; in revenge for which the demon came unexpectedly and broke the ladder on which he was mounted at his work, whereby the monk would undoubtedly have been killed. But the Virgin, to whom he was much devoted, came to his aſſiſtance, and, ſeizing him with her hand, and holding him in the air, diſappointed the devil of his purpoſe. It is this latter *dénouement* which is repreſented in the cut No. 36, taken from the

No. 36. *The Pious Sculptor.*

celebrated manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum known as "Queen Mary's Pſalter" (MS. Reg. 2 B vii.). The two demons employed here preſent, well defined, the air of mirthful jollity which was evidently derived from the popular hobgoblins.

There was another popular ſtory, which alſo was told under ſeveral

forms. The old Norman hiſtorians tell it of their duke Richard Sanſ-Peur. There was a monk of the abbey of St. Ouen, who alſo held the office of ſacriſtan, but, neglecting the duties of his poſition, entered into an intrigue with a lady who dwelt in the neighbourhood, and was accuſtomed at night to leave the abbey ſecretly, and repair to her. His place as ſacriſtan enabled him thus to leave the houſe unknown to the other brethren. On his way, he had to paſs the little river Robec, by means of a plank or wooden bridge, and one night the demons, who had been watching him on his errand of ſin, caught him on the bridge, and threw him over into the water, where he was drowned. One devil ſeized his ſoul, and would have carried it away, but an angel came to claim him on account of his good actions, and the diſpute ran ſo high, that duke Richard, whoſe piety was as great as his courage, was called in to decide it. The ſame manuſcript from which our laſt cut was taken has furniſhed our cut No. 37, which repreſents two demons tripping up the monk, and



No. 37. *The Monk's Diſaſter.*

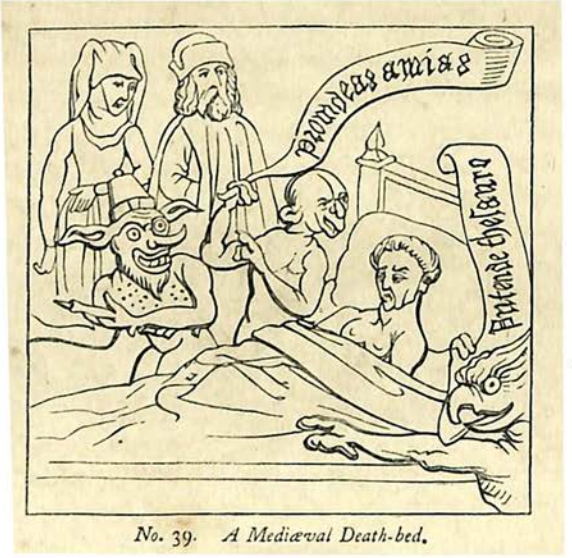
throwing him very unceremoniouſly into the river. The body of one of the demons here aſſumes the form of an animal, inſtead of taking, like the other, that of a man, and he is, moreover, furniſhed with a dragon's wings. There was one verſion of this ſtory, in which it found its place among the legends of the Virgin Mary, inſtead of thoſe of duke Richard. The monk, in ſpite of his failings, had been a conſtant worſhipper

worſhipper of the Virgin, and, as he was falling from the bridge into the river, ſhe ſtepped forward to protect him from his perſecutors, and taking hold of him with her hand, ſaved him from death. One of the compartments of the rather early wall-paintings in Wincheſter Cathedral repreſents the ſcene according to this verſion of the ſtory, and is copied in our cut No. 38. The fiends here take more fantaſtic ſhapes than we have

No. 38. The Demons Diſappointed.

previouſly ſeen given to them. They remind us already of the infinitely varied groteſque forms which the painters of the age of the Renaiſſance crowded together in ſuch ſubjects as "The Temptation of St. Anthony." In fact these ſtrange notions of the forms of the demons were not only preſerved through the whole period of the middle ages, but are ſtill hardly extinct. They appear in almoſt exaggerated forms in the illuſtrations to books of a popular religious character which appeared in the firſt ages of printing. I may quote, as an example, one of the cuts of an early and very rare block-book, entitled the *Ars Moriendi*, or "Art of Dying," or, in a ſecond title, *De Tentationibus Morientium*, on the temptations to which dying men are expoſed. The ſcene, of which a part is given in the

the annexed cut (No. 39), is in the room of the dying man, whoſe bed is ſurrounded by three demons, who are come to tempt him, while his relatives of both ſexes are looking on quite unconſcious of their preſence. The figures of theſe demons are particularly groteſque, and their ugly features betray a degree of vulgar cunning which adds not a little to this effect. The one leaning over the dying man ſuggeſts to him the words expreſſed in the label iſſuing from his mouth, *Provideas amicis*, "provide for your friends;" while the one whoſe head appears to the left whiſpers to him,



No. 39. A Mediæval Death-bed.

Yntende theſauro, "think of your treaſure." The dying man ſeems grievouſly perplexed with the various thoughts thus ſuggeſted to him.

Why did the mediæval Chriſtians think it neceſſary to make the devils black and ugly? The firſt reply to this queſtion which preſents itſelf is, that the characteriſtics intended to be repreſented were the blackneſs and uglineſs of ſin. This, however, is only partially the explanation of the fact; for there can be no doubt that the notion was a popular one, and that it had previouſly exiſted in the popular mythology; and, as has been already remarked, the uglineſs exhibited by them is a vulgar, mirthful uglineſs, which makes you laugh inſtead of ſhudder. Another ſcene, from

from the intereſting drawings at the foot of the pages in "Queen Mary's Pſalter," is given in our cut No. 40. It repreſents that moſt popular of mediæval pictures, and, at the ſame time, moſt remarkable of literal interpretations, hell mouth. The entrance to the infernal regions was always repreſented pictorially as the mouth of a monſtrous animal, where the demons appeared leaving and returning. Here they are ſeen bringing the ſinful ſouls to their laſt deſtination, and it cannot be denied that they are doing the work right merrily and jovially. In our cut

No. 40. Condemned Souls carried to their Place of Puniſhment.

No. 41, from the manuſcript in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which furniſhed a former ſubject, three demons, who appear to be the guardians of the entrance to the regions below—for it is upon the brow above the monſtrous mouth that they are ſtanding—preſent varieties of the diabolical form. The one in the middle is the moſt remarkable, for he has wings not only on his ſhoulders, but alſo on his knees and heels. All three have horns; in fact, the three ſpecial characteriſtics of mediæval demons were horns, hoofs—or, at leaſt, the feet of beaſts,—and tails, which ſufficiently indicate the ſource from which the popular notions of theſe beings were derived. In the cathedral of Treves, there is a mural painting by William of Cologne, a painter of the fifteenth century, which repreſents

repreſents the entrance to the ſhades, the monſtrous mouth, with its keepers, in ſtill more groteſque forms. Our cut No. 42 gives but a ſmall portion of this picture, in which the porter of the regions of puniſhment is ſitting aſtride the ſnout of the monſtrous mouth, and is ſounding with a trumpet what may be ſuppoſed to be the call for thoſe who are condemned. Another minſtrel of the ſame ſtamp, ſpurred, though not booted, ſits aſtride the tube of the trumpet, playing on the bagpipes; and the ſound which iſſues from the former inſtrument is repreſented by a hoſt of ſmaller imps who are ſcattering themſelves about.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that, in ſubjects like theſe, the drollery of the ſcene was accidental; but, on the contrary, the mediæval artiſts and

No. 41. The Guardians of Hell Mouth.

popular writers gave them this character purpoſely. The demons and the executioners—the latter of whom were called in Latin *tortores*, and in popular old Engliſh phraſeology the "tormentours"—were the comic characters of the time, and the ſcenes in the old myſteries or religious plays in which they were introduced were the comic ſcenes, or farce, of the

the piece. The love of burleſque and caricature was, indeed, ſo deeply planted in the popular mind, that it was found neceſſary to introduce them even in pious works, in which ſuch ſcenes as the ſlaughter of the innocents, where the "knights" and the women abuſed each other in vulgar language, the treatment of Chriſt at the time of His trial, ſome parts of the ſcene of the crucifixion, and the day of judgment, were eſſentially comic. The laſt of theſe ſubjects, eſpecially, was a ſcene of mirth, becauſe it often conſiſted throughout of a coarſe ſatire on the vices

No 42. *The Trumpeter of Evil.*

of the age, eſpecially on thoſe which were moſt obnoxious to the populace, ſuch as the pride and vanity of the higher ranks, and the extortions and frauds of uſurers, bakers, taverners, and others. In the play of "Juditium," or the day of doom, in the "Towneley Myſteries," one of the earlieſt collections of myſteries in the Engliſh language, the whole converſation among the demons is exactly of that joking kind which we might expect from their countenances in the pictures. When one of them appears carrying a bag full of different offences, another, his companion, is ſo joyful at this circumſtance, that he ſays it makes him laugh till he is out of

of breath, or, in other words, till he is ready to burſt; and, while aſking if anger be not among the ſins he had collected, propoſes to treat him with ſomething to drink—

> Primus dæmon. *Peaſze, I pray the, be ſtille; I laghe that I kynke.*
> *Is oghte ire in thi bille? and then ſalle thou drynke.*—Towneley Mysteries, p. 309.

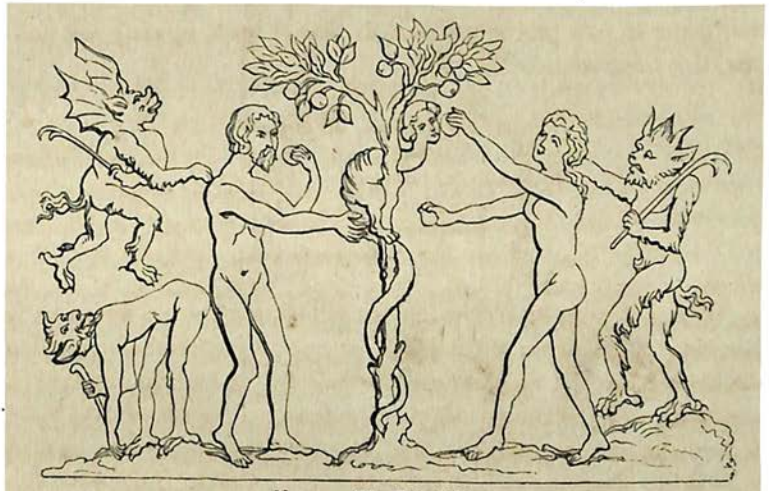
And in the continuation of the converſation, one telling of the events which had preceded the announcement of Doomſday says, rather jeeringly, and ſomewhat exultingly, "Souls came ſo thick now of late to hell, that our porter at hell gate is ever held ſo cloſe at work, up early and down late, that he never reſts"—

> *Saules cam ſo thyk now late unto helle,*
> *As ever*
> *Oure porter at helle gate*
> *Is halden ſo ſtrate,*
> *Up erly and downe late,*
> *He ryſtys never.*—Ib., p. 314.

With ſuch popular notions on the ſubject, we have no reaſon to be ſurpriſed that the artiſts of the middle ages frequently choſe the figures of demons as objects on which to exerciſe their ſkill in burleſque and caricature, that they often introduced groteſque figures of their heads and bodies in the ſculptured ornamentation of building, and that they preſented them in ludicrous ſituations and attitudes in their pictures. They are often brought in as ſecondary actors in a picture in a very ſingular manner, of which an excellent example is furniſhed by the beautifully illuminated manuſcript known as "Queen Mary's Pſalter," which is copied in our cut No. 43. Nothing is more certain than that in this inſtance the intention of the artiſt was perfectly ſerious. Eve, under the influence of a rather ſingularly formed ſerpent, having the head of a beautiful woman and the body of a dragon, is plucking the apples and offering them to Adam, who is preparing to eat one, with evident heſitation and reluctance. But three demons, downright hobgoblins, appear as ſecondary actors in the ſcene, who exerciſe an influence upon the principals. One is patting Eve on the

the ſhoulder, with an air of approval and encouragement, while a ſecond, with wings, is urging on Adam, and apparently laughing at his apprehenſions; and a third, in a very ludicrous manner, is preventing him from drawing back from the trial.

In all the delineations of demons we have yet ſeen, the ludicrous is the ſpirit which chiefly predominates, and in no one inſtance have we had a figure which is really demoniacal. The devils are droll but not frightful; they provoke laughter, or at leaſt excite a ſmile, but they



No. 43. *The Fall of Man.*

create no horror. Indeed, they torment their victims ſo good-humouredly, that we hardly feel for them. There is, however, one well-known inſtance in which the mediæval artiſt has ſhown himſelf fully ſucceſsful in repreſenting the features of the ſpirit of evil. On the parapet of the external gallery of the cathedral church of Notre Dame in Paris, there is a figure in ſtone, of the ordinary ſtature of a man, repreſenting the demon, apparently looking with ſatisfaction upon the inhabitants of the city as they were everywhere indulging in ſin and wickedneſs. We give a ſketch of this figure in our cut No. 44. The unmixed evil—horrible in

its expreſſion in this countenance—is marvellouſly portrayed. It is an abſolute Mephiſtophiles, carrying in his features a ſtrange mixture of hateful qualities—malice, pride, envy—in fact, all the deadly ſins combined in one diabolical whole.

No. 44. The Spirit of Evil.

CHAPTER V.

EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS IN MEDIÆVAL SATIRE.—POPULARITY OF FABLES; ODO DE CIRINGTON.—REYNARD THE FOX.—BURNELLUS AND FAUVEL.—THE CHARIVARI.—LE MONDE BESTORNÉ.—ENCAUSTIC TILES.—SHOEING THE GOOSE, AND FEEDING PIGS WITH ROSES.—SATIRICAL SIGNS; THE MUSTARD MAKER.

THE people of the middle ages appear to have been great admirers of animals, to have obſerved cloſely their various characters and peculiarities, and to have been fond of domeſticating them. They ſoon began to employ their peculiarities as means of ſatiriſing and caricaturing mankind; and among the literature bequeathed to them by the Romans, they received no book more eagerly than the "Fables of Æſop," and the other collections of fables which were publiſhed under the empire. We find no traces of fables among the original literature of the German race; but the tribes who took poſſeſſion of the Roman provinces no ſooner became acquainted with the fables of the ancients, than they began to imitate them, and ſtories in which animals acted the part of men were multiplied immenſely, and became a very important branch of mediæval fiction.

Among the Teutonic peoples eſpecially, theſe fables often aſſumed very groteſque forms, and the ſatire they convey is very amuſing. One of the earlieſt of theſe collections of original fables was compoſed by an Engliſh eccleſiaſtic named Odo de Cirington, who lived in the time of Henry II. and Richard I. In Odo's fables, we find the animals figuring under the ſame popular names by which they were afterwards ſo well known, ſuch as Reynard for the fox, Iſengrin for the wolf, Teburg for the cat, and the like. Thus the ſubject of one of them is "Iſengrin made Monk" (*de Iſengrino monacho*). "Once," we are told, "Iſengrin deſired to be a monk. By dint of fervent ſupplications, he obtained the conſent of the chapter,

chapter, and received the tonſure, the cowl, and the other inſignia of monachiſm. At length they put him to ſchool, and he was to learn the 'Paternoſter,' but he always replied, 'lamb' (*agnus*) or 'ram' (*aries*). The monks taught him that he ought to look upon the crucifix and upon the ſacrament, but he ever directed his eyes to the lambs and rams." The fable is droll enough, but the moral, or application is ſtill more groteſque. "Such is the conduct of many of the monks, whoſe only cry is 'aries,' that is, good wine, and who have their eyes always fixed on fat fleſh and their platter; whence the ſaying in Engliſh—

They thou the wulf hore
hod to preſte,
they thou him to ſkole ſette
ſalmes to lerne,
hevere bet hiſe geres
to the grove grene."

Though thou the hoary wolf
conſecrate to a prieſt,
though thou put him to ſchool
to learn Pſalms,
ever are his ears turned
to the green grove.

Theſe lines are in the alliterative verſe of the Anglo-Saxons, and ſhow that ſuch fables had already found their place in the popular poetry of the Engliſh people. Another of theſe fables is entitled "Of the Beetle (*ſcrabo*) and his Wife." "A beetle, flying through the land, paſſed among moſt beautiful blooming trees, through orchards and among roſes and lilies, in the moſt lovely places, and at length threw himſelf upon a dunghill among the dung of horſes, and found there his wife, who aſked him whence he came. And the beetle ſaid, 'I have flown all round the earth and through it; I have ſeen the flowers of almonds, and lilies, and roſes, but I have ſeen no place ſo pleaſant as this,' pointing to the dunghill." The application is equally droll with the former and equally uncomplimentary to the religious part of the community. Odo de Cirington tells us that, "Thus many of the clergy, monks, and laymen liſten to the lives of the fathers, paſs among the lilies of the virgins, among the roſes of the martyrs, and among the violets of the confeſſors, yet nothing ever appears ſo pleaſant and agreeable as a ſtrumpet, or the tavern, or a ſinging party, though it is but a ſtinking dunghill and congregation of ſinners."

Popular ſculpture and painting were but the tranſlation of popular literature, and nothing was more common to repreſent, in pictures and carvings,

carvings, than individual men under the forms of the animals who diſplayed ſimilar characters or ſimilar propenſities. Cunning, treachery, and intrigue were the prevailing vices of the middle ages, and they were thoſe alſo of the fox, who hence became a favourite character in ſatire. The victory of craft over force always provoked mirth. The fabuliſts, or, we ſhould perhaps rather ſay, the ſatiriſts, ſoon began to extend their canvas and enlarge their picture, and, inſtead of ſingle examples of fraud or injuſtice, they introduced a variety of characters, not only foxes, but wolves, and ſheep, and bears, with birds alſo, as the eagle, the cock, and the crow, and mixed them up together in long narratives, which thus formed general ſatires on the vices of contemporary ſociety. In this manner originated the celebrated romance of "Reynard the Fox," which in various forms, from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, has enjoyed a popularity which was granted probably to no other book. The plot of this remarkable ſatire turns chiefly on the long ſtruggle between the brute force of Iſengrin the Wolf, poſſeſſed only with a ſmall amount of intelligence, which is eaſily deceived—under which character is preſented the powerful feudal baron—and the craftineſs of Reynard the Fox, who repreſents the intelligent portion of ſociety, which had to hold its ground by its wits, and theſe were continually abuſed to evil purpoſes. Reynard is ſwayed by a conſtant impulſe to deceive and victimiſe everybody, whether friends or enemies, but eſpecially his uncle Iſengrin. It was ſomewhat the relationſhip between the eccleſiaſtical and baronial ariſtocracy. Reynard was educated in the ſchools, and intended for the clerical order; and at different times he is repreſented as acting under the diſguiſe of a prieſt, of a monk, of a pilgrim, or even of a prelate of the church. Though frequently reduced to the greateſt ſtraits by the power of Iſengrin, Reynard has generally the better of it in the end: he robs and defrauds Iſengrin continually, outrages his wife, who is half in alliance with him, and draws him into all ſorts of dangers and ſufferings, for which the latter never ſucceeds in obtaining juſtice. The old ſculptors and artiſts appear to have preferred exhibiting Reynard in his eccleſiaſtical diſguiſes, and in theſe he appears often in the ornamentation of mediæval architectural ſculpture, in wood-carvings, in the

the illuminations of manuſcripts, and in other objects of art. The popular feeling againſt the clergy was ſtrong in the middle ages, and no caricature was received with more favour than thoſe which expoſed the immorality or diſhoneſty of a monk or a prieſt. Our cut No. 45 is taken from a ſculpture in the church of Chriſtchurch, in Hampſhire, for the drawing of which I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt. It repreſents Reynard in the pulpit preaching; behind, or rather perhaps beſide him, a diminutive cock ſtands upon a ſtool —in modern times we ſhould be inclined to ſay he was acting as clerk. Reynard's coſtume conſiſts merely of the eccleſiaſtical hood or cowl. Such ſubjects are frequently found on the carved ſeats, or miſereres, in the ſtalls of the old cathedrals and collegiate churches. The painted glaſs of the great window of the north croſs-aiſle of St. Martin's church in Leiceſter, which was deſtroyed in the laſt century, repreſented the fox, in the character of an eccleſiaſtic, preaching to a congregation of geeſe, and addreſſing them in the words—*Teſtis eſt mihi Deus, quam cupiam vos omnes viſceribus meis* (God is witneſs, how I deſire you all in my bowels), a parody on the words of the New Teſtament.* Our cut No. 46 is taken from one of the miſereres in the church of St. Mary, at Beverley, in Yorkſhire. Two foxes are repreſented in the diſguiſe of eccleſiaſtics, each furniſhed with a paſtoral ſtaff, and they appear to be receiving inſtructions from a prelate or perſonage of rank—perhaps they are undertaking a pilgrimage of penance. But their ſincerity is rendered ſomewhat doubtful by the geeſe concealed in their hoods.

No. 45. The Fox in the Pulpit.

* An engraving of this ſcene, modernised in character, is given in Nichols's "Leicestershire," vol. i. plate 43.

hoods. In one of the incidents of the romance of Reynard, the hero enters a monaſtery and becomes a monk, in order to eſcape the wrath of

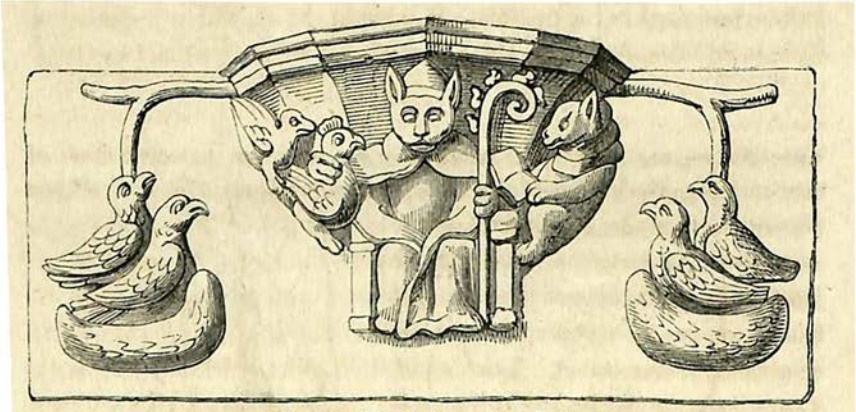
No. 46. *Eccleſiaſtical Sincerity.*

King Noble, the lion. For ſome time he made an outward ſhow of ſanctity and ſelf-privation, but unknown to his brethren he ſecretly helped himſelf freely to the good things of the monaſtery. One day he obſerved, with longing lips, a meſſenger who brought four fat capons as a preſent from a lay neighbour to the abbot. That night, when all the monks had retired to reſt, Reynard obtained admiſſion to the larder, regaled himſelf with one of the capons, and as ſoon as he had eaten it, truſſed the three others on his back, eſcaped ſecretly from the abbey, and, throwing away his monaſtic garment, hurried home with his prey. We might almoſt imagine our cut No. 47, taken from one of the ſtalls of the church of Nantwich, in Cheſhire, to have been intended to repreſent this incident, or, at leaſt, a ſimilar one. Our next cut, No. 48, is

No. 47. *Reynard turned Monk.*

is taken from a ſtall in the church of Boſton, in Lincolnſhire. A prelate, equally falſe, is ſeated in his chair, with a mitre on his head, and the paſtoral ſtaff in his right hand. His flock are repreſented by a cock and hens, the former of which he holds ſecurely with his right hand, while he appears to be preaching to them.

Another mediæval ſculpture has furniſhed events for a rather curious hiſtory, at the ſame time that it is a good illuſtration of our ſubject. Odo de Cirington, the fabuliſt, tells us how, one day, the wolf died, and the lion called the animals together to celebrate his exequies. The hare carried the holy water, hedgehogs bore the candles, the goats rang the



No 48. *The Prelate and his Flock.*

bells, the moles dug the grave, the foxes carried the corpſe on the bier. Berengarius, the bear, celebrated maſs, the ox read the goſpel, and the aſs the epiſtle. When the maſs was concluded, and Iſengrin buried, the animals made a ſplendid feaſt out of his goods, and wiſhed for ſuch another funeral. Our ſatirical eccleſiaſtic makes an application of this ſtory which tells little to the credit of the monks of his time. "So it frequently happens," he ſays, "that when ſome rich man, an extortioniſt or a uſurer, dies, the abbot or prior of a convent of beaſts, *i.e.* of men living like beaſts, cauſes them to aſſemble. For it commonly happens that in a great convent of black or white monks (Benedictines or Auguſtinians)

Auguſtinians) there are none but beaſts—lions by their pride, foxes by their craftineſs, bears by their voracity, ſtinking goats by their incontinence, aſſes by their ſluggiſhneſs, hedgehogs by their aſperity, hares by their timidity, becauſe they were cowardly where there was no fear, and oxen by their laborious cultivation of their land." *

A ſcene cloſely reſembling that here deſcribed by Odo, differing only in the diſtribution of the characters, was tranſlated from ſome ſuch written ſtory into the pictorial language of the ancient ſculptured ornamentation of Straſburg Cathedral, where it formed, apparently, two ſides of the capital or entablature of a column near the chancel. The deceaſed in this picture appears to be a fox, which was probably the animal intended to be repreſented in the original, although, in the copy of it preſerved, it looks more like a ſquirrel. The bier is carried by the goat and the boar,

No. 49. *The Funeral of the Fox.*

while a little dog underneath is taking liberties with the tail of the latter. Immediately before the bier, the hare carries the lighted taper, preceded by the wolf, who carries the croſs, and the bear, who holds in one hand the holy-water veſſel and in the other the aſperſoir. This forms the firſt diviſion of the ſubject, and is repreſented in our cut No. 49. In the next

* The Latin text of this and some others of the fables of Odo de Cirington will be found in my "Selection of Latin Stories," pp. 50-52, 55-58, and 80.

next diviſion (cut No. 50), the ſtag is repreſented celebrating maſs, and the aſs reads the Goſpel from a book which the cat ſupports with its head.

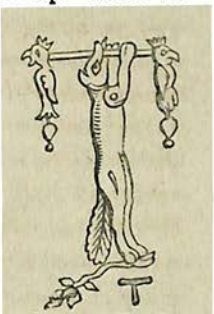
This curious ſculpture is ſaid to have been of the thirteenth century.

No. 50. The Maſs for the Pox.

In the ſixteenth century it attracted the attention of the reformers, who looked upon it as an ancient proteſt againſt the corruptions of the maſs, and one of the more diſtinguiſhed of them, John Fiſchart, had it copied and engraved on wood, and publiſhed it about the year 1580, with ſome verſes of his own, in which it was interpreted as a ſatire upon the papacy. This publication gave ſuch dire offence to the eccleſiaſtical authorities of Straſburg, that the Lutheran bookſeller who had ventured to publiſh it, was compelled to make a public apology in the church, and the wood-engraving and all the impreſſions were ſeized and burnt by the common hangman. A few years later, however, in 1608, another engraving was made, and publiſhed in a large folio with Fiſchart's verſes; and it is from the diminiſhed copy of this ſecond edition—given in Flögel's "Geſchichte des Komiſches Literatur"—that our cuts are taken. The original ſculpture was ſtill more unfortunate. Its publication and explanation by Fiſchart was the cauſe of no little ſcandal among the Catholics, who tried to retort upon their opponents by aſſerting that the figures in this funeral celebration were intended to repreſent the ignorance of the Proteſtant preachers; and the ſculpture in the church continued to be regarded by the eccleſiaſtical authorities with diſſatisfaction until the year 1685, when

when, to take away all further ground of ſcandal, it was entirely defaced.

Reynard's mediæval celebrity dates certainly from a rather early period. Montfaucon has given an alphabet of ornamental initial letters, formed chiefly of figures of men and animals, from a manuſcript which he aſcribes to the ninth century, among which is the one copied in our cut No. 51, repreſenting a fox walking upon his hind legs, and carrying two ſmall cocks, ſuſpended at the ends of a croſs ſtaff. It is hardly neceſſary to ſay that this group forms the letter T. Long before this, the Frankiſh hiſtorian Fredegarius, who wrote about the middle of the ſeventh century, introduces a fable in which the fox figures at the court of the lion. The ſame fable is repeated by a monkiſh writer of Bavaria, named Fromond, who flouriſhed in the tenth century, and by another named Aimoinus, who lived about the year 1,000. At length, in the twelfth century, Guibert de Nogent, who died about the year 1124, and who has left us his autobiography (*de Vita ſua*), relates an anecdote in that work, in explanation of which he tells us that the wolf was then popularly deſignated by the name of Iſengrin; and in the fables of Odo, as we have already ſeen, this name is commonly given to the wolf, Reynard to the fox, Teburg to the cat, and ſo on with the others. This only ſhows that in the fables of the twelfth century the various animals were known by theſe names, but it does not prove that what we know as the romance of Reynard exiſted. Jacob Grimm argued from the derivation and forms of theſe names, that the fables themſelves, and the romance, originated with the Teutonic peoples, and were indigenous to them; but his reaſons appear to me to be more ſpecious than concluſive, and I certainly lean to the opinion of my friend Paulin Paris, that the romance of Reynard was native of France,* and that it was partly founded upon old Latin legends, perhaps



No. 51. The Fox Provided.

* See the diſſertation by M. Paulin Paris, published in his nice popular modern abridgment of the French romance, published in 1861, under the title "Les Aven-

perhaps poems. Its character is altogether feudal, and it is ſtrictly a picture of ſociety, in France primarily, and ſecondly in England and the other nations of feudaliſm, in the twelfth century. The earlieſt form in which this romance is known is in the French poem—or rather poems, for it conſiſts of ſeveral branches or continuations—and is ſuppoſed to date from about the middle of the twelfth century. It ſoon became ſo popular, that it appeared in different forms in all the languages of Weſtern Europe, except in England, where there appears to have exiſted no edition of the romance of Reynard the Fox until Caxton printed his proſe Engliſh verſion of the ſtory. From that time it became, if poſſible, more popular in England than elſewhere, and that popularity had hardly diminiſhed down to the commencement of the preſent century.

The popularity of the ſtory of Reynard cauſed it to be imitated in a variety of ſhapes, and this form of ſatire, in which animals acted the part of men, became altogether popular. In the latter part of the twelfth century, an Anglo-Latin poet, named Nigellus Wireker, compoſed a very ſevere ſatire in elegiac verſe, under the title of *Speculum Stultorum*, the "Mirror of Fools." It is not a wiſe animal like the fox, but a ſimple animal, the aſs, who, under the name of Brunellus, paſſes among the various ranks and claſſes of ſociety, and notes their crimes and vices. A proſe introduction to this poem informs us that its hero is the repreſentative of the monks in general, who were always longing for ſome new acquiſition which was inconſiſtent with their profeſſion. In fact, Brunellus is abſorbed with the notion that his tail was too ſhort, and his great ambition is to get it lengthened. For this purpoſe he conſults a phyſician, who, after repreſenting to him in vain the folly of his purſuit, gives him a receipt to make his tail grow longer, and ſends him to the celebrated medical ſchool of Salerno to obtain the ingredients. After various adventures, in the courſe of which he loſes a part of his tail inſtead of its being lengthened, Brunellus proceeds to the Univerſity of Paris to ſtudy and

tures de Maître Renart et d'Ysengrin son compère." On the debated question of the origin of the Romance, see the learned and able work by Jonckbloet, 8vo., Groningue, 1863.

and obtain knowledge; and we are treated with a moſt amuſingly ſatirical account of the condition and manners of the ſcholars of that time. Soon convinced of his incapacity for learning, Brunellus abandons the univerſity in deſpair, and he reſolves to enter one of the monaſtic orders, the character of all which he paſſes in review. The greater part of the poem conſiſts of a very bitter ſatire on the corruptions of the monkiſh orders and of the Church in general. While ſtill heſitating which order to chooſe, Brunellus falls into the hands of his old maſter, from whom he had run away in order to ſeek his fortune in the world, and he is compelled to paſs the reſt of his days in the ſame humble and ſervile condition in which he had begun them.

A more direct imitation of "Reynard the Fox" is found in the early French romance of "Fauvel," the hero of which is neither a fox nor an aſs, but a horſe. People of all ranks and claſſes repair to the court of Fauvel, the horſe, and furniſh abundant matter for ſatire on the moral, political, and religious hypocriſy which pervaded the whole frame of ſociety. At length the hero reſolves to marry, and, in a finely illuminated manuſcript of this romance, preſerved in the Imperial Library in Paris, this marriage furniſhes the ſubject of a picture, which gives the only repreſentation I have met with of one of the popular burleſque ceremonies which were ſo common in the middle ages.

Among other ſuch ceremonies, it was cuſtomary with the populace, on the occaſion of a man's or woman's ſecond marriage, or an ill-ſorted match, or on the eſpouſals of people who were obnoxious to their neighbours, to aſſemble outſide the houſe, and greet them with diſcordant muſic. This cuſtom is ſaid to have been practiſed eſpecially in France, and it was called a *charivari*. There is ſtill a laſt remnant of it in our country in the muſic of marrow-bones and cleavers, with which the marriages of butchers are popularly celebrated; but the derivation of the French name appears not to be known. It occurs in old Latin documents, for it gave riſe to ſuch ſcandalous ſcenes of riot and licentiouſneſs, that the Church did all it could, though in vain, to ſuppreſs it. The earlieſt mention of this cuſtom, furniſhed in the *Gloſſarium* of Ducange, is contained in the ſynodal ſtatutes of the church of Avignon, paſſed in the year

year 1337, from which we learn that when ſuch marriages occurred, people forced their way into the houſes of the married couple, and carried away their goods, which they were obliged to pay a ranſom for before they were returned, and the money thus raiſed was ſpent in getting up what is called in the ſtatute relating to it a *Chalvaricum*. It appears from this ſtatute, that the individuals who performed the *charivari* accompanied the happy couple to the church, and returned with them to their reſidence, with coarſe and indecent geſtures and diſcordant muſic, and

No. 52. A Mediæval Charivari.

uttering ſcurrilous and indecent abuſe, and that they ended with feaſting. In the ſtatutes of Meaux, in 1365, and in thoſe of Hugh, biſhop of Beziers, in 1368, the ſame practice is forbidden, under the name of *Charavallium*; and it is mentioned in a document of the year 1372, alſo quoted by Ducange, under that of *Carivarium*, as then exiſting at Nîmes. Again, in 1445, the Council of Tours made a decree, forbidding, under pain of excommunication, "the inſolences, clamours, ſounds, and other tumults practiſed at ſecond and third nuptials, called by the vulgar a *Charivarium*,

Charivarium, on account of the many and grave evils ariſing out of them."* It will be obſerved that theſe early alluſions to the *charivari* are found almoſt ſolely in documents coming from the Roman towns in the ſouth of France, ſo that this practice was probably one of the many popular cuſtoms derived directly from the Romans. When Cotgrave's "Dictionary" was publiſhed (that is, in 1632) the practice of the *charivari* appears to have become more general in its exiſtence, as well as its application; for he deſcribes it as "a public defamation, or traducing of;

No. 53. Continuation of the Charivari.

a foule noiſe made, blacke ſantus rung, to the ſhame and diſgrace of another; hence an infamous (or infaming) ballad ſung, by an armed troupe, under the window of an old dotard, married the day before unto a yong wanton, in mockerie of them both." And, again, a *charivaris de poelles*

* "Insultationes, clamores, sonos, et alios tumultus, in secundis et tertiis quorundam nuptiis, quos charivarium vulgo appellant, propter multa et gravia incommoda, prohibemus sub pœna excommunicationis."—Ducange, v. *Charivarium*.

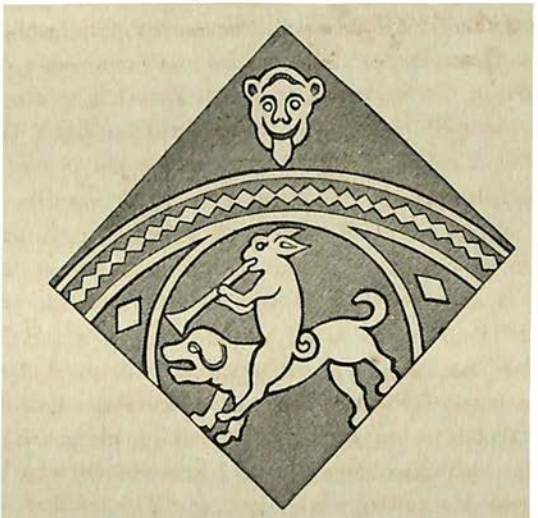
poelles is explained as "the carting of an infamous perſon, graced with the harmonie of tinging kettles and frying-pan muſicke."* The word is now generally uſed in the ſenſe of a great tumult of diſcordant muſic, produced often by a number of perſons playing different tunes on different inſtruments at the ſame time.

As I have ſtated above, the manuſcript of the romance of "Fauvel" is in the Imperial Library in Paris. A copy of this illumination is engraved in Jaime's "Muſée de la Caricature," from which our cuts Nos. 52 and 53 are taken. It is divided into three compartments, one above another, in the uppermoſt of which Fauvel is ſeen entering the nuptial chamber to his young wife, who is already in bed. The ſcene in the compartment below, which is copied in our cut No. 52, repreſents the ſtreet outſide, and the mock revellers performing the *charivari;* and this is continued in the third, or loweſt, compartment, which is repreſented in our cut No. 53. Down each ſide of the original illumination is a frame-work of windows, from which people, who have been diſturbed by the noiſe, are looking out upon the tumult. It will be ſeen that all the performers wear maſks, and that they are dreſſed in burleſque coſtume. In confirmation of the ſtatement of the eccleſiaſtical ſynods as to the licentiouſneſs of theſe exhibitions, we ſee one of the performers here diſguiſed as a woman, who lifts up his dreſs to expoſe his perſon while dancing. The muſical inſtruments are no leſs groteſque than the coſtumes, for they conſiſt chiefly of kitchen utenſils, ſuch as frying-pans, mortars, ſaucepans, and the like.

There was another ſeries of ſubjects in which animals were introduced as the inſtruments of ſatire. This ſatire conſiſted in reverſing the poſition of man with regard to the animals over which he had been accuſtomed to tyranniſe, ſo that he was ſubjected to the ſame treatment from the animals which, in his actual poſition, he uſes towards them. This change of relative poſition was called in old French and Anglo-Norman, *le monde beſlorné,* which was equivalent to the Engliſh phraſe, "the world turned upſide down." It forms the ſubject of rather old verſes, I believe, both

* Cotgrave's Dictionarie, v. *Charivaris.*

both in French and Engliſh, and individual ſcenes from it are met with in pictorial repreſentation at a rather early date. During the year 1862, in the courſe of accidental excavations on the ſite of the Friary, at Derby, a number of encauſtic tiles, ſuch as were uſed for the floors of the interiors of churches and large buildings, were found.* The ornamentation of theſe tiles, eſpecially of the earlier ones, is, like all

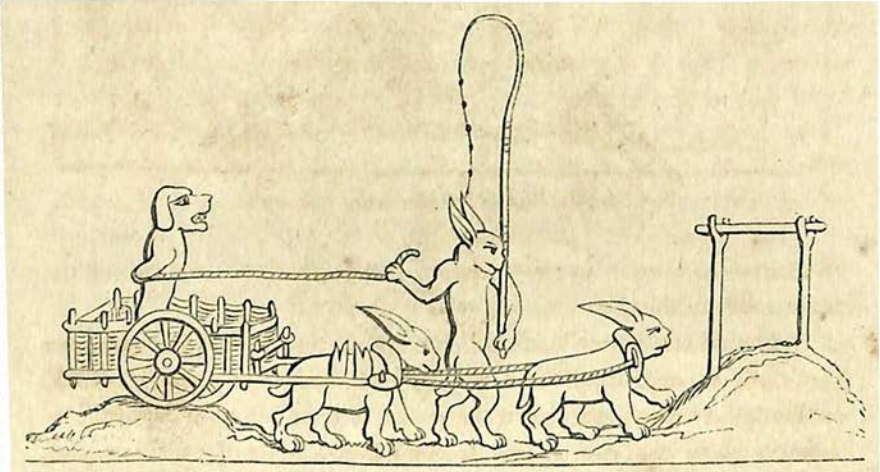


No. 54. The Tables Turned.

mediæval ornamentations, extremely varied, and even theſe tiles ſometimes preſent ſubjects of a burleſque and ſatirical character, though they are more frequently adorned with the arms and badges of benefactors to the church or convent. The tiles found on the ſite of the priory at Derby are believed to be of the thirteenth century, and one pattern, a diminiſhed copy of which is given in our cut No. 54, preſents a ſubject taken

* Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, in his excellent publication, the *Reliquary*, for October, 1862, has given an interesting paper on the encaustic tiles found on this occasion, and on the conventual house to which they belonged.

taken from the *monde beſtorné*. The hare, maſter of his old enemy, the dog, has become hunter himſelf, and ſeated upon the dog's back he rides vigorouſly to the chace, blowing his horn as he goes. The deſign is ſpiritedly executed, and its ſatirical intention is ſhown by the monſtrous and mirthful face, with the tongue lolling out, figured on the outer corner of the tile. It will be ſeen that four of theſe tiles are intended to be joined together to make the complete piece. In an illumination in a manuſcript of the fourteenth century in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Reg. 10 E iv.), the hares are taking a ſtill more ſevere vengeance



No. 55. *Juſtice in the Hands of the Perſecuted.*

on their old enemy. The dog has been caught, brought to trial for his numerous murders, and condemned, and they are repreſented here (cut No. 55) conducting him in the criminal's cart to the gallows. Our cut No. 56, the ſubject of which is furniſhed by one of the carved ſtalls in Sherborne Minſter (it is here copied from the engraving in Carter's "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture"), repreſents another execution ſcene, ſimilar in ſpirit to the former. The geeſe have ſeized their old enemy, Reynard, and are hanging him on a gallows, while two monks, who attend the execution, appear to be amuſed at the energetic manner in which

which the geeſe perform their taſk. Mr. Jewitt mentions two other ſubjects belonging to this ſeries, one of them taken from an illuminated manuſcript; they are, the mouſe chaſing the cat, and the horſe driving

No. 56. Reynard brought to Account at Laſt.

the cart—the former human carter in this caſe taking the place of the horſe between the ſhafts.

"The World turned upſide down; or, the Folly of Man," has continued amongſt us to be a popular chap-book and child's book till within a very few years, and I have now a copy before me printed in London about the year 1790. It conſiſts of a ſeries of rude woodcuts, with a few doggrel verſes under each. One of theſe, entitled "The Ox turned Farmer," repreſents two men drawing the plough, driven by an ox. In the next, a rabbit is ſeen turning the ſpit on which a man is roaſting, while a cock holds a ladle and baſtes. In a third, we ſee a tournament, in which the horſes are armed and ride upon the men. Another repreſents the ox killing the butcher. In others we have birds netting men and women; the aſs, turned miller, employing the man-miller to carry his ſacks; the horſe turned groom, and currying the man; and the fiſhes angling for men and catching them.

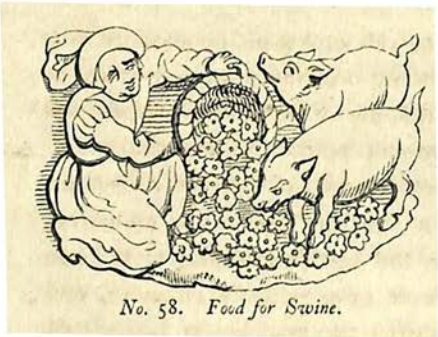
In a cleverly ſculptured ornament in Beverley Minſter, repreſented in our cut No. 57, the gooſe herſelf is repreſented in a groteſque ſituation, which

which might almoſt give her a place in "The World turned upſide down," although it is a mere burleſque, without any apparent ſatirical

No. 57. Shoeing the Gooſe.

aim. The gooſe has here taken the place of the horſe at the blackſmith's, who is vigorouſly nailing the ſhoe on her webbed foot.

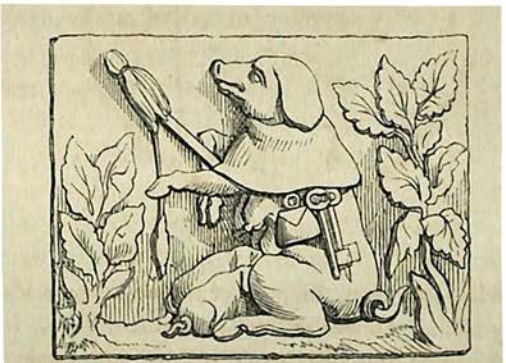
Burleſque ſubjects of this deſcription are not uncommon, eſpecially among architectural ſculpture and wood-carving, and, at a rather later period, on all ornamental objects. The field for ſuch ſubjects was ſo extenſive, that the artiſt had an almoſt unlimited choice, and therefore his ſubjects might be almoſt infinitely varied, though we uſually find them running on particular claſſes. The old popular proverbs, for inſtance, furniſhed a fruitful ſource for drollery, and are at times delineated in an amuſingly literal or practical manner. Pictorial proverbs



No. 58. Food for Swine.

proverbs and popular ſayings are ſometimes met with on the carved miſereres. For example, in one of thoſe at Rouen, in Normandy, repreſented in our cut No. 58, the carver has intended to repreſent the idea of the old ſaying, in alluſion to miſplaced bounty, of throwing pearls to ſwine, and has given it a much more pictureſque and pictorially intelligible form, by introducing a rather daſhing female feeding her ſwine with roſes, or rather offering them roſes for food, for the ſwine diſplay no eagerneſs to feed upon them.

We meet with ſuch ſubjects as theſe ſcattered over all mediæval works of art, and at a ſomewhat later period they were transferred to other objects, ſuch as the ſigns of houſes. The cuſtom of placing ſigns



No. 59. The Induſtrious Sow.

over the doors of ſhops and taverns, was well known to the ancients, as is abundantly manifeſted by their frequent occurrence in the ruins of Pompeii; but in the middle ages, the uſe of ſigns and badges was univerſal, and as—contrary to the apparent practice in Pompeii, where certain badges were appropriated to certain trades and profeſſions—every individual was free to chooſe his own ſign, the variety was unlimited. Many ſtill had reference, no doubt, to the particular calling of thoſe to whom they belonged, while others were of a religious character, and indicated the ſaint under whoſe protection the houſeholder had placed himſelf. Some people took animals for their ſigns, others monſtrous or burleſque figures; and, in fact, there were hardly any of the ſubjects of caricature

caricature or burleſque familiar to the mediæval ſculptor and illuminator which did not from time to time appear on theſe popular ſigns. A few of the old ſigns ſtill preſerved, eſpecially in the quaint old towns of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, ſhow us how frequently they were made the inſtruments of popular ſatire. A ſign not uncommon in France was *La Truie qui file* (the ſow ſpinning). Our cut No. 59 repreſents this ſubject as treated on an old ſign, a carving in baſ-relief of the ſixteenth century, on a houſe in the Rue du Marché-aux-Poirées, in Rouen. The ſow appears here in the character of the induſtrious houſewife, employing herſelf in ſpinning at the ſame time that ſhe is attending to the wants of her children. There is a ſingularly ſatirical ſign at Beauvais, on a houſe which was formerly occupied by an *épicier-moutardier*, or grocer who made muſtard, in the Rue du Châtel. In front of this ſign, which is repreſented in our cut No. 60, appears a large muſtard-mill, on one ſide of which ſtands Folly with a ſtaff in her hand, with which ſhe is ſtirring the muſtard, while an ape, with a ſort of ſardonic grin, throws in a ſeaſoning, which may be conjectured by his poſture.* The trade-mark of the individual who adopted this ſtrange device, is carved below.

No. 60. *Adulteration.*

* See an interesting little book on this subject by M. Ed. de la Quérière, entitled "Recherches sur les Enseignes des Maisons Particulières," 8vo., Rouen, 1852, from which both the above examples are taken.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MONKEY IN BURLESQUE AND CARICATURE.—TOURNAMENTS AND SINGLE COMBATS.—MONSTROUS COMBINATIONS OF ANIMAL FORMS.—CARICATURES ON COSTUME.—THE HAT.—THE HELMET.—LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES.—THE GOWN, AND ITS LONG SLEEVES.

THE fox, the wolf, and their companions, were introduced as inſtruments of ſatire, on account of their peculiar characters; but there were other animals which were alſo favourites with the ſatiriſt, becauſe they diſplayed an innate inclination to imitate; they formed, as it were, natural parodies upon mankind. I need hardly ſay that of theſe the principal and moſt remarkable was the monkey. This animal muſt have been known to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers from a remote period, for they had a word for it in their own language—*apa*, our *ape*. Monkey is a more modern name, and ſeems to be equivalent with *maniken*, or a little man. The earlieſt *Beſtiaries*, or popular treatiſes on natural hiſtory, give anecdotes illuſtrative of the aptneſs of this animal for imitating the actions of men, and aſcribe to it a degree of underſtanding which would almoſt raiſe it above the level of the brute creation. Philip de Thaun, an Anglo-Norman poet of the reign of Henry I., in his *Beſtiary*, tells us that "the monkey, by imitation, as books ſay, counterfeits what it ſees, and mocks people:"—

Li ſinge par figure, ſi cum dit eſcripture,
*Ceò que il voit contrefait, de gent eſcar hait.**

He

* See my "Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages," p. 107.

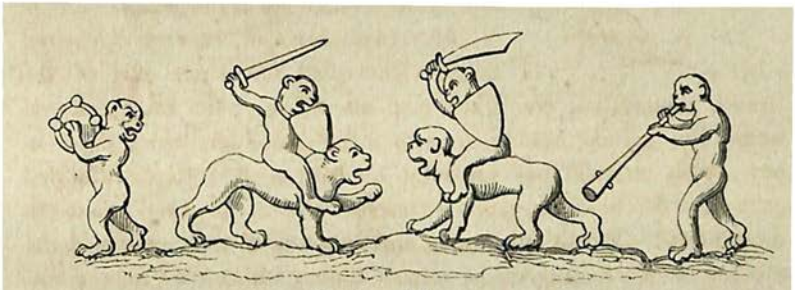
He goes on to inform us, as a proof of the extraordinary inſtinct of this animal, that it has more affection for ſome of its cubs than for others, and that, when running away, it carried thoſe which it liked before it, and thoſe it diſliked behind its back. The ſketch from the illuminated manuſcript of the Romance of the Comte d'Artois, of the fifteenth century, which forms our cut No. 61, repreſents the monkey, carrying, of courſe, its favourite child before it in its flight, and what is more, it is taking that flight mounted on a donkey. A monkey on horſeback appears not to have been a novelty, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

No 61. A Monkey Mounted.

Alexander Neckam, a very celebrated Engliſh ſcholar of the latter part of the twelfth century, and one of the moſt intereſting of the early mediæval writers on natural hiſtory, gives us many anecdotes, which ſhow us how much attached our mediæval forefathers were to domeſticated animals, and how common a practice it was to keep them in their houſes. The baronial caſtle appears often to have preſented the appearance of a menagerie of animals, among which ſome were of that ſtrong and ferocious character that rendered it neceſſary to keep them in cloſe confinement, while others, ſuch as monkeys, roamed about the buildings at will. One of Neckam's ſtories is very curious in regard to our ſubject, for it ſhows that the people in thoſe days exerciſed their tamed animals in practically caricaturing contemporary weakneſſes and faſhions. This writer remarks that "the nature of the ape is ſo ready at acting, by ridiculous geſticulations, the repreſentations of things it has ſeen, and thus gratifying the vain curioſity of worldly men in public exhibitions, that it will even dare to imitate a military conflict. A jougleur (*hiſtrio*) was in the habit of conſtantly taking two monkeys to the military exerciſes which are commonly called tournaments, that the labour of teaching might be diminiſhed by frequent inſpection. He afterwards taught two dogs to carry theſe apes, who ſat on their backs, furniſhed with proper arms. Nor did they want ſpurs, with which they ſtrenuouſly

ſtrenuouſly urged on the dogs. Having broken their lances, they drew out their ſwords, with which they ſpent many blows on each other's ſhields. Who at this fight could refrain from laughter?"*

Such contemporary caricatures of the mediæval tournament, which was in its greateſt faſhion during the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, appear to have been extremely popular, and are not unfrequently repreſented in the borders of illuminated manuſcripts. The manuſcript now ſo well known as "Queen Mary's Pſalter" (MS. Reg. 2 B vii.), and written and illuminated very early in the fourteenth century, contains not a few illuſtrations of this deſcription. One of theſe, which forms our cut No. 62, repreſents a tournament



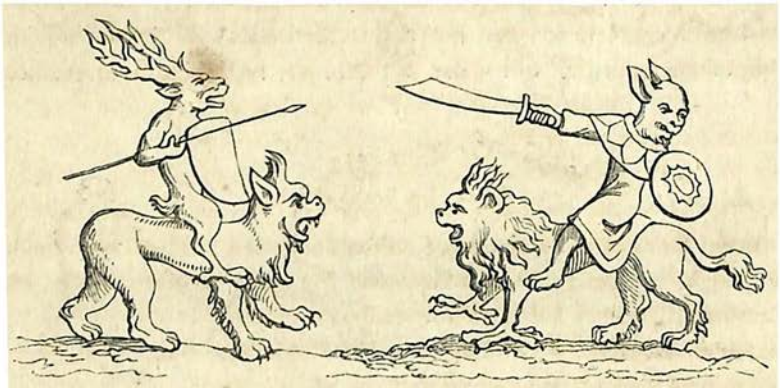
No. 62. *A Tournament.*

not much unlike that deſcribed by Alexander Neckam, except that the monkeys are here riding upon other monkeys, and not upon dogs. In fact, all the individuals here engaged are monkeys, and the parody is completed by the introduction of the trumpeter on one ſide, and of minſtrelſy, repreſented by a monkey playing on the tabor, on the other; or, perhaps, the two monkeys are ſimply playing on the pipe and tabor, which were looked upon as the loweſt deſcription of minſtrelſy, and are therefore the more aptly introduced into the ſcene.

The ſame manuſcript has furniſhed us with the cut No. 63. Here the

* Alexander Neckam, De Naturis Rerum, lib. ii. c. 129.

the combat takes place between a monkey and a ſtag, the latter having the claws of a griffin. They are mounted, too, on rather nondeſcript animals—one having the head and body of a lion, with the forefeet of an eagle; the other having a head ſomewhat like that of a lion, on a lion's body, with the hind parts of a bear. This ſubject may, perhaps, be intended as a burleſque on the mediæval romances, filled with combats between the Chriſtians and the Saracens; for the ape—who, in the moraliſations which accompany the *Beſtiaries*, is ſaid to repreſent the devil



No. 63. A Feat of Arms.

—is here armed with what are evidently intended for the ſabre and ſhield of a Saracen, while the ſtag carries the ſhield and lance of a Chriſtian knight.

The love of the mediæval artiſts for monſtrous figures of animals, and for mixtures of animals and men, has been alluded to in a former chapter. The combatants in the accompanying cut (No. 64), taken from the ſame manuſcript, preſent a ſort of combination of the rider and the animal, and they again ſeem to be intended for a Saracen and a Chriſtian. The figure to the right, which is compoſed of the body of a ſatyr, with the feet of a gooſe and the wings of a dragon, is armed with a ſimilar Saracenic ſabre; while that to the left, which is on the whole leſs monſtrous, wields a Norman ſword. Both have human faces below the navel as well as above, which was a favourite idea in the groteſque of the middle

middle ages. Our mediæval forefathers appear to have had a decided taſte for monſtroſities of every deſcription, and eſpecially for mixtures of

No. 64. A Terrible Combat.

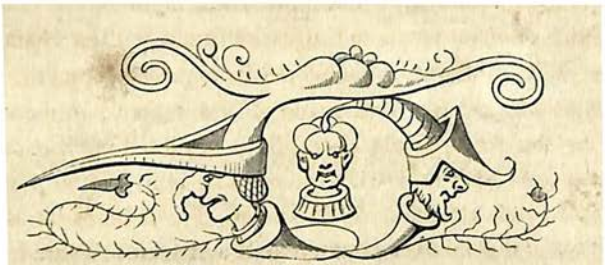
different kinds of animals, and of animals and men. There is no doubt, to judge by the anecdotes recorded by ſuch writers as Giraldus Cambrenſis, that a belief in the exiſtence of ſuch unnatural creatures was widely entertained. In his account of Ireland, this writer tells us of animals which were half ox and half man, half ſtag and half cow, and half dog and half monkey.* It is certain that there was a general belief in ſuch animals, and nobody could be more credulous than Giraldus himſelf.

No. 65. Faſhionable Dreſs.

The deſign to caricature, which is tolerably evident in the ſubjects juſt given, is ſtill more apparent in other groteſques that adorn the borders of the mediæval manuſcripts, as well as in ſome of the mediæval carvings and ſculpture. Thus, in our cut No. 65, taken from one of the borders in the Romance of the Comte d'Artois,

* See Girald. Cambr., Topog. Hiberniæ, dist. ii. cc. 21, 22; and the Itinerary of Wales, lib. ii. c. 11.

d'Artois, a manuſcript of the fifteenth century, we cannot fail to recogniſe an attempt at turning to ridicule the contemporary faſhions in dreſs. The hat is only an exaggerated form of one which appears to have been commonly uſed in France in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and which appears frequently in illuminated manuſcripts executed in Burgundy; and the boot alſo belongs to the ſame period. The latter reappeared at different times, until at length it became developed into the modern top-boots. In cut No. 66, from the ſame



No. 66. Heads and Hats.

manuſcript, where it forms the letter T, we have the ſame form of hat, ſtill more exaggerated, and combined at the ſame time with groteſque faces.

Caricatures on coſtume are by no means uncommon among the artiſtic remains of the middle ages, and are not confined to illuminated manuſcripts. The faſhionable dreſſes of thoſe days went into far more ridiculous exceſſes of ſhape than anything we ſee in our times—at leaſt, ſo far as we can believe the drawings in the manuſcripts; but theſe, however ſeriouſly intended, were conſtantly degenerating into caricature, from circumſtances which are eaſily explained, and which have, in fact, been explained already in their influence on other parts of our ſubject. The mediæval artiſts in general were not very good delineators of form, and their outlines are much inferior to their finiſh. Conſcious of this, though perhaps unknowingly, they ſought to remedy the defect in a ſpirit which has always been adopted in the early ſtages of art-progreſs—they aimed at making themſelves underſtood by giving a ſpecial prominence to the

the peculiar characteriſtics of the objects they wiſhed to repreſent. Theſe were the points which naturally attracted people's firſt attention, and the reſemblance was felt moſt by people in general when theſe points were put forward in exceſſive prominence in the picture. The dreſſes, perhaps, hardly exiſted in the exact forms in which we ſee them in the illuminations, or at leaſt thoſe were only exceptions to the generally more moderate forms; and hence, in uſing theſe pictorial records as materials for the hiſtory of coſtume, we ought to make a certain allowance for exaggeration—we ought, indeed, to treat them almoſt as caricatures. In fact, much of what we now call caricature, was then characteriſtic of ſerious art, and of what was conſidered its high development. Many of the attempts which have been made of late years to introduce ancient coſtume on the ſtage, would probably be regarded by the people who lived in the age which they were intended to repreſent, as a mere deſign to turn them into ridicule. Nevertheleſs, the faſhions in dreſs were, eſpecially from the twelfth century to the ſixteenth, carried to a great degree of extravagance, and were not only the objects of ſatire and caricature, but drew forth the indignant declamations of the Church, and furniſhed a continuous theme to the preachers. The contemporary chronicles abound with bitter reflections on the extravagance in coſtume, which was conſidered as one of the outward ſigns of the great corruption of particular periods; and they give us not unfrequent examples of the coarſe manner in which the clergy diſcuſſed them in their ſermons. The readers of Chaucer will remember the manner in which this ſubject is treated in the "Parſon's Tale." In this reſpect the ſatiriſts of the Church went hand in hand with the pictorial caricaturiſts of the illuminated manuſcripts, and of the ſculptures with which we ſometimes meet in contemporary architectural ornamentation. In the latter, this claſs of caricature is perhaps leſs frequent, but it is ſometimes very expreſſive. The very curious *miſereres* in the church of Ludlow, in Shropſhire, preſent the caricature reproduced in our cut No. 67. It repreſents an ugly, and, to judge by the expreſſion of the countenance, an ill-tempered old woman, wearing the faſhionable head-dreſs of the earlier half of the fifteenth century, which ſeems to have been carried to its greateſt extravagance

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extravagance in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. It is the ſtyle of coiffure known eſpecially as the horned head-dreſs, and the very name carries with it a ſort of relationſhip to an individual who was notoriouſly

No. 67. A Faſhionable Beauty.

horned—the ſpirit of evil. This daſhing dame of the olden time appears to have ſtruck terror into two unfortunates who have fallen within her influence, one of whom, as though he took her for a new Gorgon, is attempting to cover himſelf with his buckler, while the other, apprehending danger of another kind, is prepared to defend himſelf with his ſword. The details of the head-dreſs in this figure are intereſting for the hiſtory of coſtume.

No. 68. A Man of War.

Our next cut, No. 68, is taken from a manuſcript in private poſſeſſion, which is now rather well known among antiquaries by the name of the "Luttrell Pſalter," and which belongs to the fourteenth century. It ſeems to involve a ſatire on the ariſtocratic order of ſociety —on the knight who was diſtinguiſhed by his helmet, his ſhield, and his armour. The individual here repreſented preſents a type which is anything but ariſtocratic. While he holds a helmet

a helmet in his hand to ſhow the meaning of the ſatire, his own helmet, which he wears on his head, is ſimply a bellows. He may be a knight of the kitchen, or perhaps a mere *quiſtron*, or kitchen lad.

We have juſt ſeen a caricature of one of the ladies' head-dreſſes of the earlier half of the fifteenth century, and our cut No. 69, from an illuminated manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum of the latter half of the ſame century (MS. Harl., No. 4379), furniſhes us with a caricature of a head-dreſs of a different character, which came into faſhion in the reign of our Edward IV. The horned head-dreſs of the previous generation had been entirely laid aſide, and the ladies adopted in its place a ſort of ſteeple-ſhaped head-dreſs, or rather of the form of a ſpire, made by rolling a piece of linen into the form of a long cone. Over this lofty cap was thrown a piece of fine lawn or muſlin, which deſcended almoſt to the ground, and formed, as it were, two wings. A ſhort tranſparent veil was thrown over the face, and reached not quite to the chin, reſembling rather cloſely the veils in uſe among our ladies of the preſent day (1864). The whole head-dreſs, indeed, has been preſerved by the Norman peaſantry; for it may be obſerved that, during the feudal ages, the faſhions in France and England were always identical. Theſe ſteeple head-dreſſes greatly provoked the indignation of the clergy, and zealous preachers attacked them roughly in their ſermons. A French monk, named Thomas Conecte, diſtinguiſhed himſelf eſpecially in this cruſade, and inveighed againſt the head-dreſs with ſuch effect, that we are aſſured that many of the women threw down their head-dreſſes in the middle of the ſermon, and made a bonfire of them at its concluſion. The zeal of the preacher ſoon extended itſelf to the populace, and, for a while, when ladies appeared in this head-dreſs in public, they were expoſed to be pelted by the rabble. Under ſuch a double perſecution it diſappeared for a moment, but when the preacher was no longer preſent, it returned again, and, to uſe the words

No 69. A Lady's Head-dreſs.

words of the old writer who has preſerved this anecdote, "the women who, like ſnails in a fright, had drawn in their horns, ſhot them out again as ſoon as the danger was over." The caricaturiſt would hardly overlook ſo extravagant a faſhion, and accordingly the manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum, juſt mentioned, furniſhes us with the ſubject of our cut No. 69. In thoſe times, when the paſſions were ſubjected to no reſtraint, the fine ladies indulged in ſuch luxury and licentiouſneſs, that the caricaturiſt has choſen as their fit repreſentative a ſow, who wears the objectionable head-dreſs in full faſhion. The original forms one of the illuſtrations of a copy of the hiſtorian Froiſſart, and was, therefore, executed in France, or, more probably, in Burgundy.

The ſermons and ſatires againſt extravagance in coſtume began at an early period. The Anglo-Norman ladies, in the earlier part of the twelfth century, firſt brought in vogue in our iſland this extravagance in faſhion, which quickly fell under the laſh of ſatiriſt and caricaturiſt. It was firſt exhibited in the robes rather than in the head-dreſs. Theſe Anglo-Norman ladies are underſtood to have firſt introduced ſtays, in order to give an artificial appearance of ſlenderneſs to their waiſts; but the greateſt extravagance appeared in the forms of their ſleeves. The robe, or gown, inſtead of being looſe, as among the Anglo-Saxons, was laced cloſe round the body, and the ſleeves, which fitted the arm tightly till they reached the elbows, or ſometimes nearly to the wriſt, then ſuddenly became larger, and hung down to an extravagant length, often trailing on the ground, and ſometimes ſhortened by means of a knot. The gown, alſo, was itſelf worn very long. The clergy preached againſt theſe extravagances in faſhion, and at times, it is ſaid, with effect; and they fell under the vigorous laſh of the ſatiriſt. In a claſs of ſatires which became extremely popular in the twelfth century, and which produced in the thirteenth the immortal poem of Dante—the viſions of purgatory and of hell—theſe contemporary extravagances in faſhion are held up to public deteſtation, and are made the ſubject of ſevere puniſhment. They were looked upon as among the outward forms of pride. It aroſe, no doubt, from this taſte—from the darker ſhade which ſpread over men's minds in the twelfth century—that demons, inſtead of animals, were introduced

introduced to perſonify the evil-doers of the time. Such is the figure (cut No. 70) which we take from a very intereſting manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Cotton. Nero, C iv.). The demon is here dreſſed in the faſhionable gown with its long ſleeves, of which one appears to have been uſually much longer than the other. Both the gown and ſleeve are ſhortened by means of knots, while the former is brought cloſe round

No. 70. Sin in Satins.

the waiſt by tight lacing. It is a picture of the uſe of ſtays made at the time of their firſt introduction.

This ſuperfluity of length in the different parts of the dreſs was a ſubject of complaint and ſatire at various and very diſtant periods, and contemporary illuminations of a perfectly ſerious character ſhow that theſe complaints were not without foundation.

CHAPTER VII.

PRESERVATION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE MIMUS AFTER THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE.—THE MINSTREL AND JOGELOUR.—HISTORY OF POPULAR STORIES.—THE FABLIAUX.—ACCOUNT OF THEM.—THE CONTES DEVOTS.

I HAVE already remarked that, upon the fall of the Roman empire, the popular inſtitutions of the Romans were more generally preſerved to the middle ages than thoſe of a higher and more refined character. This is underſtood without difficulty, when we conſider that the lower claſs of the population—in the towns, what we might perhaps call the lower and middle claſſes—continued to exiſt much the ſame as before, while the barbarian conquerors came in and took the place of the ruling claſſes. The drama, which had never much hold upon the love of the Roman populace, was loſt, and the theatres and the amphitheatres, which had been ſupported only by the wealth of the imperial court and of the ruling claſs, were abandoned and fell into ruin; but the *mimus*, who furniſhed mirth to the people, continued to exiſt, and probably underwent no immediate change in his character. It will be well to ſtate again the chief characteriſtics of the ancient *mimus*, before we proceed to deſcribe his mediæval repreſentative.

The grand aim of the *mimus* was to make people laugh, and he employed generally every means he knew of for effecting this purpoſe, by language, by geſtures or motions of the body, or by dreſs. Thus he carried, ſtrapped over his loins, a wooden ſword, which was called *gladius hiſtricus* and *clunaculum*, and wore ſometimes a garment made of a great number of ſmall pieces of cloth of different colours, which was hence called *centunculus*, or the hundred-patched dreſs.* Theſe two characteriſtics

* "Uti me consuesse tragœdi syrmate, histrionis crotalone ad trieterica orgia, aut mimi centunculo."—Apuleius, Apolog.

characteriſtics have been preſerved in the modern harlequin. Other peculiarities of coſtume may conveniently be left undeſcribed; the female mimæ ſometimes exhibited themſelves unreſtricted by dreſs. They danced and ſung; repeated jokes and told merry ſtories; recited or acted farces and ſcandalous anecdotes; performed what we now call mimicry, a word derived from the name of mimus; and they put themſelves in ſtrange poſtures, and made frightful faces. They ſometimes acted the part of a fool or zany (*morio*), or of a madman. They added to theſe performances that of the conjurer or juggler (*præſtigiator*), and played tricks of ſleight of hand. The mimi performed in the ſtreets and public places, or in the theatres, and eſpecially at feſtivals, and they were often employed at private parties, to entertain the gueſts at a ſupper.

We trace the exiſtence of this claſs of performers during the earlier period of the middle ages by the expreſſions of hoſtility towards them uſed from time to time by the eccleſiaſtical writers, and the denunciations of ſynods and councils, which have been quoted in a former chapter.* Nevertheleſs, i is evident from many alluſions to them, that they found their way into the monaſtic houſes, and were in great favour not only among the monks, but among the nuns alſo; that they were introduced into the religious feſtivals; and that they were tolerated even in the churches. It is probable that they long continued to be known in Italy and the countries near the centre of Roman influence, and where the Latin language was continued, by their old name of *mimus*. The writers of the mediæval vocabularies appear all to have been much better acquainted with the meaning of this word than of moſt of the Latin words of the ſame claſs, and they evidently had a claſs of performers exiſting in their own times to whom they conſidered that the name applied. The Anglo-Saxon vocabularies interpret the Latin *mimus* by *glig-mon*, a gleeman. In Anglo-Saxon, *glig* or *gliu* meant mirth and game of every deſcription, and as the Anglo-Saxon teachers who compiled the vocabularies give, as ſynonyms of *mimus*, the words *ſcurra*, *jociſta*, and *pantomimus*, it is evident that all theſe were included in the character of

* See before, p. 41 of the present volume.

of the gleeman, and that the latter was quite identical with his Roman type. It was the Roman *mimus* introduced into Saxon England. We have no traces of the exiſtence of ſuch a claſs of performers among the Teutonic race before they became acquainted with the civiliſation of imperial Rome. We know from drawings in contemporary illuminated manuſcripts that the performances of the gleeman did include muſic, ſinging, and dancing, and alſo the tricks of mountebanks and jugglers, ſuch as throwing up and catching knives and balls, and performing with tamed bears, &c.*

But even among the peoples who preſerved the Latin language, the word *mimus* was gradually exchanged for others employed to ſignify the ſame thing. The word *jocus* had been uſed in the ſignification of a jeſt, playfulneſs, *jocari* ſignified to jeſt, and *joculator* was a word for a jeſter; but, in the debaſement of the language, *jocus* was taken in the ſignification of everything which created mirth. It became, in the courſe of time the French word *jeu*, and the Italian *gioco*, or *giuoco*. People introduced a form of the verb, *jocare*, which became the French *juer*, to play or perform. *Joculator* was then uſed in the ſenſe of *mimus*. In French the word became *jogléor*, or *jougléor*, and in its later form *jougleur*. I may remark that, in mediæval manuſcripts, it is almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between the *u* and the *n*, and that modern writers have miſread this laſt word as *jongleur*, and thus introduced into the language a word which never exiſted, and which ought to be abandoned. In old Engliſh, as we ſee in Chaucer, the uſual form was *jogelere*. The mediæval joculator, or jougleur, embraced all the attributes of the Roman *mimus*,† and perhaps more. In the firſt place

* See examples of these illuminations in my "History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments," pp. 34, 35, 37, 65.

† People in the middle ages were so fully conscious of the identity of the mediæval jougleur with the Roman mimus, that the Latin writers often use *mimus* to signify a jougleur, and the one is interpreted by the others in the vocabularies. Thus, in Latin-English vocabularies of the fifteenth century, we have—

Hic joculator,
Hic mimus, } *Anglice* jogulour.

place he was very often a poet himſelf, and compoſed the pieces which it was one of his duties to ſing or recite. Theſe were chiefly ſongs, or ſtories, the latter uſually told in verſe, and ſo many of them are preſerved in manuſcripts that they form a very numerous and important claſs of mediæval literature. The ſongs were commonly ſatirical and abuſive, and they were made uſe of for purpoſes of general or perſonal vituperation. Out of them, indeed, grew the political ſongs of a later period. There were female jougleurs, and both ſexes danced, and, to create mirth among thoſe who encouraged them, they practiſed a variety of performances, ſuch as mimicking people, making wry and ugly faces, diſtorting their bodies into ſtrange poſtures, often expoſing their perſons in a very unbecoming manner, and performing many vulgar and indecent acts, which it is not neceſſary to deſcribe more particularly. They carried about with them for exhibition tame bears, monkeys, and other animals, taught to perform the actions of men. As early as the thirteenth century, we find them including among their other accompliſhments that of dancing upon the tight-rope. Finally, the jougleurs performed tricks of ſleight of hand, and were often conjurers and magicians. As, in modern times, the jougleurs of the middle ages gradually paſſed away, ſleight of hand appears to have become their principal accompliſhment, and the name only was left in the modern word *juggler*. The jougleurs of the middle ages, like the mimi of antiquity, wandered about from place to place, and often from country to country, ſometimes ſingly and at others in companies, exhibited their performances in the roads and ſtreets, repaired to all great feſtivals, and were employed eſpecially in the baronial hall, where, by their ſongs, ſtories, and other performances, they created mirth after dinner.

This claſs of ſociety had become known by another name, the origin of which is not ſo eaſily explained. The primary meaning of the Latin word *miniſter* was a ſervant, one who miniſters to another, either in his wants or in his pleaſures and amuſements. It was applied particularly to the cup-bearer. In low Latinity, a diminutive of this word was formed, *mineſtellus*, or *miniſtrellus*, a petty ſervant, or miniſter. When we firſt meet with this word, which is not at a very early date, it is uſed as perfectly

perfectly ſynonymous with *joculator*, and, as the word is certainly of Latin derivation, it is clear that it was from it the middle ages derived the French word *meneſtrel* (the modern *ménétrier*), and the Engliſh *minſtrel*. The mimi or jougleurs were perhaps conſidered as the petty miniſters to the amuſements of their lord, or of him who for the time employed them. Until the cloſe of the middle ages, the minſtrel and the jougleur were abſolutely identical. Poſſibly the former may have been conſidered the more courtly of the two names. But in England, as the middle ages diſappeared, and loſt their influence on ſociety ſooner than in France, the word minſtrel remained attached only to the muſical part of the functions of the old mimus, while, as juſt obſerved, the juggler took the ſleight of hand and the mountebank tricks. In modern French, except where employed technically by the antiquary, the word *ménétrier* means a fiddler.

The jougleurs, or minſtrels, formed a very numerous and important, though a low and deſpiſed, claſs of mediæval ſociety. The dulneſs of every-day life in a feudal caſtle or manſion required ſomething more than ordinary excitement in the way of amuſement, and the old family bard, who continually repeated to the Teutonic chief the praiſes of himſelf and his anceſtors, was ſoon felt to be a weariſome companion. The mediæval knights and their ladies wanted to laugh, and to make them laugh ſufficiently it required that the jokes, or tales, or comic performances, ſhould be broad, coarſe, and racy, with a good ſpicing of violence and of the wonderful. Hence the jougleur was always welcome to the feudal manſion, and he ſeldom went away diſſatisfied. But the ſubject of the preſent chapter is rather the literature of the jougleur than his perſonal hiſtory, and, having traced his origin to the Roman mimus, we will now proceed to one claſs of his performances.

It has been ſtated that the mimus and the jougleurs told ſtories. Of thoſe of the former, unfortunately, none are preſerved, except, perhaps, in a few anecdotes ſcattered in the pages of ſuch writers as Apuleius and Lucian, and we are obliged to gueſs at their character, but of the ſtories of the jougleurs a conſiderable number has been preſerved. It becomes an intereſting queſtion how far theſe ſtories have been derived from the mimi,

mimi, handed down traditionally from mimus to jougleur, how far they are native in our race, or how far they were derived at a later date from other ſources. And in conſidering this queſtion, we muſt not forget that the mediæval jougleurs were not the only repreſentatives of the mimi, for among the Arabs of the Eaſt alſo there had originated from them, modified under different circumſtances, a very important claſs of minſtrels and ſtory-tellers, and with theſe the jougleurs of the weſt were brought into communication at the commencement of the cruſades. There can be no doubt that a very large number of the ſtories of the jougleurs were borrowed from the Eaſt, for the evidence is furniſhed by the ſtories themſelves; and there can be little doubt alſo that the jougleurs improved themſelves, and underwent ſome modification, by their intercourſe with Eaſtern performers of the ſame claſs.

On the other hand, we have traces of the exiſtence of theſe popular ſtories before the jougleurs can have had communication with the Eaſt. Thus, as already mentioned, we find, compoſed in Germany, apparently in the tenth century, in rhythmical Latin, the well-known ſtory of the wife of a merchant who bore a child during the long abſence of her huſband, and who excuſed herſelf by ſtating that her pregnancy had been the reſult of ſwallowing a flake of ſnow in a ſnow-ſtorm. This, and another of the ſame kind, were evidently intended to be ſung. Another poem in popular Latin verſe, which Grimm and Schmeller, who edited it,* believe may be of the eleventh century, relates a very amuſing ſtory of an adventurer named Unibos, who, continually caught in his own ſnares, finiſhes by getting the better of all his enemies, and becoming rich, by mere ingenious cunning and good fortune. This ſtory is not met with among thoſe of the jougleurs, as far as they are yet known, but, curiouſly enough, Lover found it exiſting orally among the Iriſh peaſantry, and inſerted the Iriſh ſtory among his "Legends of Ireland." It is a curious illuſtration of the pertinacity with which the popular ſtories deſcend along with peoples through generations from the remoteſt

* In a volume entitled "Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jh." 8vo. Göttingen, 1838.

remoteſt ages of antiquity. The ſame ſtory is found in an oriental form among the tales of the Tartars published in French by Guenlette.

The people of the middle ages, who took their word *fable* from the Latin *fabula*, which they appear to have underſtood as a mere term for any ſhort narration, included under it the ſtories told by the mimi and jougleurs; but, in the fondneſs of the middle ages for diminutives, by which they intended to expreſs familiarity and attachment, applied to them more particularly the Latin *fabella*, which in the old French became *fablel*, or, more uſually, *fabliau*. The fabliaux of the jougleurs form a moſt important claſs of the comic literature of the middle ages. They muſt have been wonderfully numerous, for a very large quantity of them ſtill remain, and theſe are only the ſmall portion of what once exiſted, which have eſcaped periſhing like the others by the accident of being written in manuſcripts which have had the fortune to ſurvive; while manuſcripts containing others have no doubt periſhed, and it is probable that many were only preſerved orally, and never written down at all.* The recital of theſe fabliaux appears to have been the favourite employment of the jougleurs, and they became ſo popular that the mediæval preachers turned them into ſhort ſtories in Latin proſe, and made uſe of them as illuſtrations in their ſermons. Many collections of theſe ſhort Latin ſtories are found in manuſcripts which had ſerved as note-books to the preachers,† and out of them was originally compiled that celebrated mediæval book called the "Geſta Romanorum."

It is to be regretted that the ſubjects and language of a large portion of theſe fabliaux are ſuch as to make it impoſſible to preſent them before modern readers, for they furniſh ſingularly intereſting and minute pictures of mediæval life in all claſſes of ſociety. Domeſtic ſcenes are among thoſe moſt frequent, and they repreſent the interior of the mediæval houſehold

* Many of the Fabliaux have been printed, but the two principal collections, and to which I shall chiefly refer in the text, are those of Barbazan, re-edited and much enlarged by Méon, 4 vols. 8vo., 1808, and of Méon, 2 vols. 8vo., 1823.

† A collection of these short Latin stories was edited by the author of the present work, in a volume printed for the Percy Society in 1842.

houſehold in no favourable point of view. The majority of theſe tell looſe ſtories of huſbands deceived by their fair ſpouſes, or of tricks played upon unſuſpecting damſels. In ſome inſtances the treatment of the huſband is perhaps what may be called of a leſs objectionable character, as in the fabliau of La Vilain Mire (the clown doctor), printed in Barbazan (iii. 1), which was the origin of Molière's well-known comedy of "Le Médecin malgré lui." A rich peaſant married the daughter of a poor knight; it was of courſe a marriage of ambition on his part, and of intereſt on hers—one of thoſe ill-ſorted matches which, according to feudal ſentiments, could never be happy, and in which the wife was conſidered as privileged to treat her huſband with all poſſible contempt. In this inſtance the lady hit upon an ingenious mode of puniſhing her huſband for his want of ſubmiſſion to her ill-treatment. Meſſengers from the king paſſed that way, ſeeking a ſkilful doctor to cure the king's daughter of a dangerous malady. The lady ſecretly informed theſe meſſengers that her huſband was a phyſician of extraordinary talent, but of an eccentric temper, for he would never acknowledge or exerciſe his art until firſt ſubjected to a ſevere beating. The huſband is ſeized, bound, and carried by force to the king's court, where, of courſe, he denies all knowledge of the healing art, but a ſevere beating obliges him to compliance, and he is ſucceſsful by a combination of impudence and chance. This is only the beginning of the poor man's miſeries. Inſtead of being allowed to go home, his fame has become ſo great that he is retained at court for the public good, and, with a rapid ſucceſſion of patients, fearful of the reſults of his conſcious ignorance, he refuſes them all, and is ſubjected in every caſe to the ſame ill-treatment to force his compliance. The examples in which the huſband, on the other hand, outwits the wife are few. A fabliau by a poet who gives himſelf the name of Cortebarbe, printed alſo by Barbazan (iii. 398), relates how three blind beggars were deceived by a clerc, or ſcholar, of Paris, who met them on the road near Compiègne. The clerk pretended to give the three beggars a bezant, which was then a good ſum of money, and they haſtened joyfully to the next tavern, where they ordered a plentiful ſupper, and feaſted to their hearts' content. But, in fact, the clerk had not given them a bezant at

all, although, as he ſaid he did ſo, and they could only judge by their hearing, they imagined that they had the coin, and each thought that it was in the keeping of one of his companions. Thus, when the time of paying came, and the money was not forthcoming, in the common belief that one of the three had received the bezant and intended to keep it and cheat the others, they quarrelled violently, and from abuſe ſoon came to blows. The landlord, drawn to the ſpot by the uproar, and informed of the ſtate of the caſe, accuſed the three blind men of a conſpiracy to cheat him, and demanded payment with great threats. The clerk of Paris, who had followed them to the inn, and taken his lodging there in order to witneſs the reſult, delivered the blind men by an equally ingenious trick which he plays upon the landlord and the prieſt of the pariſh.

Some of theſe ſtories have for their ſubject tricks played among thieves. In one printed by Méon (i. 124), we have the ſtory of a rich but ſimple villan, or countryman, named Brifaut, who is robbed at market by a cunning ſharper, and ſeverely corrected by his wife for his careleſſneſs. Robbery, both by force and by ſleight of hand and craft, prevailed to an extraordinary degree during the middle ages. The plot of the fabliau of Barat and Haimet, by Jean de Boves (Barbazan, iv. 233), turns upon a trial of ſkill among three robbers to determine who ſhall commit the cleverеſt act of thievery, and the reſult is, at leaſt, an extremely amuſing ſtory. It may be mentioned as an example of the numerous ſtories which the jougleurs certainly obtained from the Eaſt, that the well-known ſtory of the Hunchback in the "Arabian Nights" appears among them in two or three different forms.

The ſocial vices of the middle ages, their general licentiouſneſs, the prevalence of injuſtice and extortion, are very fully expoſed to view in theſe compoſitions, in which no claſs of ſociety is ſpared. The villan, or peaſant, is always treated very contemptuouſly; he formed the claſs from which the jougleur received leaſt benefit. But the ariſtocracy, the great barons, the lords of the ſoil, come in for their full ſhare of ſatire, and they no doubt enjoyed the ridiculous pictures of their own order. I will not venture to introduce the reader to female life in the baronial caſtle, as it appears

appears in many of theſe ſtories, and as it is no doubt truly painted, although, of courſe, in many inſtances, much exaggerated. We have already ſeen how in the ſtory of Reynard, the character of mediæval ſociety was repreſented by the long ſtruggle between brute force repreſented by the wolf, the emblem of the ariſtocratic claſs, and the low aſtuteneſs of the fox, or the unariſtocratic claſs. The ſucceſs of the craft of the human fox over the force of his lordly antagoniſt is often told in the fabliaux in ludicrous colours. In that of Trubert, printed by Méon (i. 192), the "duke" of a country, with his wife and family, become repeatedly the dupes of the groſs deceptions of a poor but impudent peaſant. Theſe ſatires upon the ariſtocracy were no doubt greatly enjoyed by the good *bourgeoiſie*, who, in their turn, furniſhed abundance of ſtories, of the drolleſt deſcription, to provoke the mirth of the lords of the ſoil, between whom and themſelves there was a kind of natural antipathy. Nor are the clergy ſpared. The prieſt is uſually deſcribed as living with a concubine—his order forbade marrying—and both are conſidered as fair game to the community; while the monk figures more frequently as the hero of gallant adventures. Both prieſt and monk are uſually diſtinguiſhed by their ſelfiſhneſs and love of indulgence. In the fabliau Du Bouchier d'Abbeville, in Barbazan (iv. 1), a butcher, on his way home from the fair, ſeeks a night's lodging at the houſe of an inhoſpitable prieſt, who refuſes it. But when the former returns, and offers, in exchange for his hoſpitality, one of his fat ſheep which he has purchaſed at the fair, and not only to kill it for their ſupper, but to give all the meat they do not eat to his hoſt, he is willingly received into the houſe, and they make an excellent ſupper. By the promiſe of the ſkin of the ſheep, the gueſt ſucceeds in ſeducing both the concubine and the maid-ſervant, and it is only after his departure the following morning, in the middle of a domeſtic uproar cauſed by the conflicting claims of the prieſt, the concubine, and the maid, to the poſſeſſion of the ſkin, that it is diſcovered that the butcher had ſtolen the ſheep from the prieſt's own flock.

The fabliaux, as remarked before, form the moſt important claſs of the extenſive maſs of the popular literature of the middle ages, and the writers,

writers, confident in their ſtrong hold upon public favour, ſometimes turn round and burleſque the literature of other claſſes, eſpecially the long heavy monotony of ſtyle of the great romances of chivalry and the extravagant adventures they contained, as though conſcious that they were gradually undermining the popularity of the romance writers. One of theſe poems, entitled "De Audigier," and printed in Barbazan (iv. 217), is a parody on the romance writers and on their ſtyle, not at all wanting in ſpirit or wit, but the ſatire is coarſe and vulgar. Another printed in Barbazan (iv. 287), under the title "De Berengier," is a ſatire upon a ſort of knight-errantry which had found its way into mediæval chivalry. Berengier was a knight of Lombardy, much given to boaſting, who had a beautiful lady for his wife. He uſed to leave her alone in his caſtle, under pretext of ſallying forth in ſearch of chivalrous adventures, and, after a while, having well hacked his ſword and ſhield, he returned to vaunt the deſperate exploits he had performed. But the lady was ſhrewd as well as handſome, and, having ſome ſuſpicions of his truthfulneſs as well as of his courage, ſhe determined to make trial of both. One morning, when her huſband rode forth as uſual, ſhe haſtily diſguiſed herſelf in a ſuit of armour, mounted a good ſteed, and hurrying round by a different way, met the boaſtful knight in the middle of a wood, where he no ſooner ſaw that he had to encounter a real aſſailant, than he diſplayed the moſt abject cowardice, and his opponent exacted from him an ignominious condition as the price of his eſcape. On his return home at night, boaſting as uſual of his ſucceſs, he found his lady taking her revenge upon him in a ſtill leſs reſpectful manner, but he was ſilenced by her ridicule.

The *trouvères*, or poets, who wrote the fabliaux—I need hardly remark that *trouvère* is the ſame word as *trobador*, but in the northern dialect of the French language—appear to have flouriſhed chiefly from the cloſe of the twelfth century to the earlier part of the fourteenth. They all compoſed in French, which was a language then common to England and France, but ſome of their compoſitions bear internal evidence of having been compoſed in England, and others are found in contemporary manuſcripts written in this iſland. The ſcene of a fabliau, printed

printed by Méon (i. 113), is laid at Colcheſter; and that of La Male Honte, printed in Barbazan (iii. 204), is laid in Kent. The latter, however, was written by a trouvère named Hugues de Cambrai. No objection appears to have been entertained to the recital of theſe licentious ſtories before the ladies of the caſtle or of the domeſtic circle, and their general popularity was ſo great, that the more pious clergy ſeem to have thought neceſſary to find ſomething to take their place in the poſt-prandial ſociety of the monaſtery, and eſpecially of the nunnery; and religious ſtories were written in the ſame form and metre as the fabliaux. Some of theſe have been publiſhed under the title of "Contes Devots," and, from their general dulneſs, it may be doubted if they anſwered their purpoſe of furniſhing amuſement ſo well as the others.

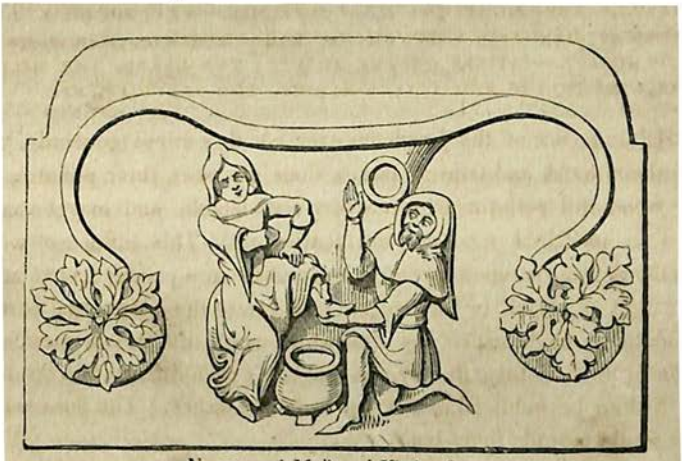
CHAPTER VIII.

CARICATURES OF DOMESTIC LIFE.—STATE OF DOMESTIC LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—EXAMPLES OF DOMESTIC CARICATURE FROM THE CARVINGS OF THE MISERERES.—KITCHEN SCENES.—DOMESTIC BRAWLS.—THE FIGHT FOR THE BREECHES.—THE JUDICIAL DUEL BETWEEN MAN AND WIFE AMONG THE GERMANS.—ALLUSIONS TO WITCHCRAFT.—SATIRES ON THE TRADES; THE BAKER, THE MILLER, THE WINE-PEDLAR AND TAVERN-KEEPER, THE ALE-WIFE, ETC.

THE influence of the jougleurs over people's minds generally, with their ſtories and ſatirical pieces, their grimaces, their poſtures, and their wonderful performances, was very conſiderable, and may be eaſily traced in mediæval manners and ſentiments. This influence would naturally be exerted upon inventive art, and when a painter had to adorn the margin of a book, or the ſculptor to decorate the ornamental parts of a building, we might expect the ideas which would firſt preſent themſelves to him to be thoſe ſuggeſted by the jougleur's performance, for the ſame taſte had to be indulged in the one as in the other. The ſame wit or ſatire would pervade them both.

Among the moſt popular ſubjects of ſatire during the middle ages, were domeſtic ſcenes. Domeſtic life at that period appears to have been in its general character coarſe, turbulent, and, I ſhould ſay, anything but happy. In all its points of view, it preſented abundant ſubjects for ieſt and burleſque. There is little room for doubt that the Romiſh Church, as it exiſted in the middle ages, was extremely hoſtile to domeſtic happineſs among the middle and lower claſſes, and that the interference of the prieſt in the family was only a ſource of domeſtic trouble. The ſatirical writings of the period, the popular tales, the diſcourſes of thoſe who ſought reform, even the pictures in the manuſcripts

manuſcripts and the ſculptures on the walls invariably repreſent the female portion of the family as entirely under the influence of the prieſts, and that influence as exerciſed for the worſt of purpoſes. They encouraged faithleſſneſs as well as diſobedience in wives, and undermined the virtue of daughters, and were conſequently regarded with anything but kindly feeling by the male portion of the population. The prieſt, the wife, and the huſband, form the uſual leading characters in a mediæval farce. Subjects of this kind are not very unfrequent in the illuminations of manuſcripts, and more eſpecially in the ſculptures of buildings, and thoſe chiefly eccleſiaſtical, in which monks or prieſts are



No. 71. A Mediæval Kitchen Scene.

introduced in very equivocal ſituations. This part of the ſubject, however, is one into which we ſhall not here venture, as we find the mediæval caricaturiſts drawing plenty of materials from the leſs vicious ſhades of contemporary life; and, in fact, ſome of their moſt amuſing pictures are taken from the droll, rather than from the vicious, ſcenes of the interior of the houſehold. Such ſcenes are very frequent on the miſereres of the old cathedrals and collegiate churches. Thus, in the ſtalls at Worceſter Cathedral, there is a droll figure of a man ſeated before a fire in a kitchen

kitchen well ſtored with flitches of bacon, he himſelf occupied in attending to the boiling pot, while he warms his feet, for which purpoſe he has taken off his ſhoes. In a ſimilar carving in Hereford Cathedral, a man, alſo in the kitchen, is ſeen attempting to take liberties with the cook maid, who throws a platter at his head. A copy of this curious ſubject is given in cut No. 71; and the cut No. 72 is taken from a ſimilar miſerere in Minſter Church, in the Iſle of Thanet. It repreſents an old lady ſeated, occupied induſtriouſly in ſpinning, and accompanied by her cats.

No. 72. An Old Lady and her Friends.

We might eaſily add other examples of ſimilar ſubjects from the ſame ſources, ſuch as the ſcene in our cut No. 73, taken from one of the ſtalls of Wincheſter Cathedral, which ſeems to be intended to repreſent a witch riding away upon her cat, an enormous animal, whoſe jovial look is only outdone by that of its miſtreſs. The latter has carried her diſtaff with her, and is diligently employed in ſpinning. A ſtall in Sherborne Minſter, given in our cut No. 74, repreſents a ſcene in a ſchool, in which an unfortunate ſcholar is experiencing puniſhment of a rather ſevere deſcription, to the great alarm of his companions, on whom his diſgrace is evidently acting as a warning. The flogging ſcene at ſchool appears to have been rather a favourite ſubject among the early caricaturiſts, for the ſcourge was looked upon in the middle ages as the grand ſtimulant to ſcholarſhip. In thoſe good old times, when a man recalled to memory his ſchoolboy days, he did not ſay, "When I was at ſchool," but, "When I was under the rod."

No. 73. The Lady and her Cat.

An

An extenſive field for the ſtudy of this intereſting part of our ſubject will be found in the architectural gallery in the Kenſington Muſeum, which contains a large number of caſts from ſtalls and other ſculptures,

No. 74. Scholaſtic Diſcipline.

chiefly ſelected from the French cathedrals. One of theſe, engraved in our cut No. 75, repreſents a couple of females, ſeated before the kitchen fire. The date of this ſculpture is ſtated to be 1382. To judge by their

No. 75. A Point in Diſpute.

looks and attitude, there is a diſagreement between them, and the object in diſpute ſeems to be a piece of meat, which one has taken out of the pot and placed on a diſh. This lady wields her ladle as though ſhe were

prepared to uſe it as a weapon, while her opponent is armed with the bellows. The ale-pot was not unfrequently the ſubject of pictures of a turbulent character, and among the groteſque and monſtrous figures in the margins of the noble manuſcript of the fourteenth century, known as the "Luttrell Pſalter," one repreſents two perſonages not only quarrelling over their pots, which they appear to have emptied, but actually fighting

No. 76. Want of Harmony over the Pot.

with them. One of them has literally broken his pot over his companion's head. The ſcene is copied in our cut No. 76.

It muſt be ſtated, however, that the more common ſubjects of theſe homely ſcenes are domeſtic quarrels, and that the man, or his wife, enjoying their fireſide, or ſimilar bits of domeſtic comfort, only make their appearance at rare intervals. Domeſtic quarrels and combats are much more frequent. We have already ſeen, in the cut No. 75, two dames of the kitchen evidently beginning to quarrel over their cookery. A ſtall in the church of Stratford-upon-Avon gives us the group repreſented in our cut No. 77. The battle has here become deſperate, but whether the male combatant be an oppreſſed huſband or

an

an impertinent intruder, is not clear. The quarrel would ſeem to have ariſen during the proceſs of cooking, as the female, who has ſeized her opponent by the beard, has evidently ſnatched up the ladle as the readieſt weapon at hand. The anger appears to be mainly on her ſide, and the rather tame countenance of her antagoniſt contraſts ſtrangely with her inflamed features. Our next cut, No. 78, is taken from the ſculpture of a column in Ely Cathedral, here copied from an engraving in Carter's "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture." A man and wife, apparently, are ſtruggling for the poſſeſſion of a ſtaff, which is perhaps intended to be the emblem of maſtery. As is generally repreſented to be the caſe in theſe ſcenes of domeſtic

No. 77. Domeſtic Strife.

No. 78. A Struggle for the Maſtery.

ſtrife, the woman ſhows more energy and more ſtrength than her opponent,

opponent, and ſhe is evidently overcoming him. The maſtery of the wife over the huſband ſeems to have been a univerſally acknowledged ſtate of things. A ſtall in Sherborne Minſter, in Dorſet, which has

No. 79. The Wife in the Aſcendant.

furniſhed the ſubject of our cut No. 79, might almoſt be taken as the ſequel of the laſt cut. The lady has poſſeſſed herſelf of the ſtaff, has overthrown her huſband, and is even ſtriking him on the head with it

No. 80. Violence Reſiſted.

when he is down. In our next cut, No. 80, which is taken from one of the caſts of ſtalls in the French cathedrals exhibited in the Kenſington Muſeum, it is not quite clear which of the two is the offender, but, perhaps,

perhaps, in this caſe, the archer, as his profeſſion is indicated by his bow and arrows, has made a gallant aſſault, which, although ſhe does not look much diſpleaſed at it, the offended dame certainly reſiſts with ſpirit.

One idea connected with this picture of domeſtic antagoniſm appears to have been very popular from a rather early period. There is a proverbial phraſe to ſignify that the wife is maſter in the houſehold, by which it is intimated that "ſhe wears the breeches." The phraſe is, it muſt be confeſſed, an odd one, and is only half underſtood by modern explanations; but in mediæval ſtory we learn how "ſhe" firſt put in her claim to wear this particular article of dreſs, how it was firſt diſputed and conteſted, how ſhe was at times defeated, but how, as a general rule, the claim was enforced. There was a French poet of the thirteenth century, Hugues Piaucelles, two of whoſe *fabliaux*, or metrical tales, entitled the "Fabliau d'Eſtourmi," and the "Fabliau de Sire Hains et de Dame Anieuſe," are preſerved in manuſcript, and have been printed in the collection of Barbazan. The ſecond of theſe relates ſome of the adventures of a mediæval couple, whoſe houſehold was not the beſt regulated in the world. The name of the heroine of this ſtory, Anieuſe, is ſimply an old form of the French word *ennuyeuſe*, and certainly dame Anieuſe was ſufficiently "ennuyeuſe" to her lord and huſband. "Sire Hains," her huſband, was, it appears, a maker of "cottes" and mantles, and we ſhould judge alſo, by the point on which the quarrel turned, that he was partial to a good dinner. Dame Anieuſe was of that diſagreeable temper, that whenever Sire Hains told her of ſome particularly nice thing which he wiſhed her to buy for his meal, ſhe bought inſtead ſomething which ſhe knew was diſagreeable to him. If he ordered boiled meat, ſhe invariably roaſted it, and further contrived that it ſhould be ſo covered with cinders and aſhes that he could not eat it. This would ſhow that people in the middle ages (except, perhaps, profeſſional cooks) were very unapt at roaſting meat. This ſtate of things had gone on for ſome time, when one day Sire Hains gave orders to his wife to buy him fiſh for his dinner. The diſobedient wife, inſtead of buying fiſh, provided nothing for his meal but a diſh of ſpinage, telling him falſely that all the fiſh ſtank. This leads to a violent quarrel, in which, after ſome fierce wrangling,

wrangling, eſpecially on the part of the lady, Sire Hains propoſes to decide their difference in a novel manner. "Early in the morning," he ſaid, "I will take off my breeches and lay them down in the middle of the court, and the one who can win them ſhall be acknowledged to be maſter or miſtreſs of the houſe."

Le matinet, ſans contredire,
Voudrai mes braies deſchaucier,
Et enmi noſtre cort couchier;
Et qui conquerre les porra,
Par bone reſon mouſterra
Qu'il ert ſire ou dame du noſtre.
Barbazan, Fabliaux, tome iii. p. 383.

Dame Anieuſe accepted the challenge with eagerneſs, and each prepared for the ſtruggle. After due preparation, two neighbours, friend Symon and Dame Aupais, having been called in as witneſſes, and the object of diſpute, the breeches, having been placed on the pavement of the court, the battle began, with ſome ſlight parody on the formalities of the judicial combat. The firſt blow was given by the dame, who was ſo eager for the fray that ſhe ſtruck her huſband before he had put himſelf on his guard; and the war of tongues, in which at leaſt Dame Anieuſe had the beſt of it, went on at the ſame time as the other battle. Sire Hains ventured a ſlight expoſtulation on her eagerneſs for the fray, in anſwer to which ſhe only threw in his teeth a fierce defiance to do his worſt. Provoked at this, Sire Hains ſtruck at her, and hit her over the eyebrows, ſo effectively, that the ſkin was diſcolou ed; and, over-confident in the effect of this firſt blow, he began rather too ſoon to exult over his wife's defeat. But Dame Anieuſe was leſs diſconcerted than he expected, and recovering quickly from the effect of the blow, ſhe turned upon him and ſtruck him on the ſame part of his face with ſuch force, that ſhe nearly knocked him over the ſheepfold. Dame Anieuſe, in her turn, now ſneered over him, and while he was recovering from his confuſion, her eyes fell upon the object of contention, and ſhe ruſhed to it, and laid her hands upon it to carry it away. This movement rouſed Sire Hains, who inſtantly ſeized another part of the article of his dreſs of which he

was

was thus in danger of being deprived, and began a ſtruggle for poſſeſſion, in which the ſaid article underwent conſiderable dilapidation, and fragments of it were ſcattered over the court. In the midſt of this ſtruggle the actual fight recommenced, by the huſband giving his wife ſo heavy a blow on the teeth that her mouth was filled with blood. The effect was ſuch that Sire Hains already reckoned on the victory, and proclaimed himſelf lord of the breeches.

Hains fiert ſa fame enmi les denz
Tel cop, que la bouche dedenz
Li a toute emplie de ſancz.
" Tien ore," diſt Sire Hains, " anc,
Je cuit que je t'ai bien atainte,
Or t'ai-je de deux colors tainte—
J'aurai les braies toutes voies."

But the immediate effect on Dame Anieuſe was only to render her more deſperate. She quitted her hold on the diſputed garment, and fell upon her huſband with ſuch a ſhower of blows that he hardly knew which way to turn. She was thus, however, unconſciouſly exhauſting herſelf, and Sire Hains ſoon recovered. The battle now became fiercer than ever, and the lady ſeemed to be gaining the upper hand, when Sire Hains gave her a ſkilful blow in the ribs, which nearly broke one of them, and conſiderably checked her ardour. Friend Symon here interpoſed, with the praiſeworthy aim of reſtoring peace before further harm might be done, but in vain, for the lady was only rendered more obſtinate by her miſhap; and he agreed that it was uſeleſs to interfere until one had got a more decided advantage over the other. The fight therefore went on, the two combatants having now ſeized each other by the hair of the head, a mode of combat in which the advantages were rather on the ſide of the male. At this moment, one of the judges, Dame Aupais, ſympathiſing too much with Dame Anieuſe, ventured ſome words of encouragement, which drew upon her a ſevere rebuke from her colleague, Symon, who intimated that if ſhe interfered again there might be two pairs of combatants inſtead of one. Meanwhile Dame Anieuſe was becoming exhauſted, and was evidently getting the worſt of the conteſt, until at length, ſtaggering from

from a vigorous puſh, ſhe fell back into a large baſket which lay behind her. Sire Hains ſtood over her exultingly, and Symon, as umpire, pronounced him victorious. He thereupon took poſſeſſion of the diſputed article of raiment, and again inveſted himſelf with it, while the lady accepted faithfully the conditions impoſed upon her, and we are aſſured by the poet that ſhe was a good and obedient wife during the reſt of her life. In this ſtory, which affords a curious picture of mediæval life, we learn the origin of the proverb relating to the poſſeſſion and wearing of the breeches. Hugues Piaucelles concludes his *fabliau* by recommending every man who has a diſobedient wife to treat her in the ſame manner; and mediæval huſbands appear to have followed his advice, without fear of laws againſt the ill-treatment of women.

A ſubject like this was well fitted for the burleſques on the ſtalls, and accordingly we find on one of thoſe in the cathedral at Rouen, the group given in our cut No. 81, which ſeems to repreſent the part of the ſtory

No. 81. The Fight for the Breeches.

in which both combatants ſeize hold of the diſputed garment, and ſtruggle for poſſeſſion of it. The huſband here graſps a knife in his hand, with which he ſeems to be threatening to cut it to pieces rather than give it up. The *fabliau* gives the victory to the huſband, but the wife was generally conſidered as in a majority of caſes carrying off the prize. In an extremely rare engraving by the Flemiſh artiſt Van Mecken, dated in 1480, of which I give a copy in our cut No. 82, the lady, while putting

putting on the breeches, of which ſhe has juſt become poſſeſſed, ſhows an inclination to lord it rather tyrannically over her other half, whom ſhe has condemned to perform the domeſtic drudgery of the manſion.

No. 82. The Breeches Won.

In Germany, where there was ſtill more roughneſs in mediæval life, what was told in England and France as a good ſtory of domeſtic doings, was actually carried into practice under the authority of the laws. The judicial duel was there adopted by the legal authorities as a mode of ſettling the differences between huſband and wife. Curious particulars on this ſubject are given in an intereſting paper entitled "Some obſervations on Judicial Duels as practiſed in Germany," publiſhed in the twenty-ninth volume of the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries (p. 348). Theſe obſervations are chiefly taken from a volume of directions, accompanied with drawings, for the various modes of attack and defence, compiled by Paulus Kall, a celebrated teacher of defence at the court of Bavaria about the year 1400. Among theſe drawings we have one repreſenting the mode of combat between huſband and wife. The only weapon allowed the female, but that a very formidable one, was, according to theſe directions, a heavy ſtone wrapped up in an elongation of her chemiſe, while her opponent had only a ſhort ſtaff, and he was placed up to the waiſt in a pit formed in the ground. The following

is a literal tranſlation of the directions given in the manuſcript, and our cut No. 83 is a copy of the drawing which illuſtrates it:— "The woman muſt be ſo prepared, that a ſleeve of her chemiſe extend a ſmall ell beyond her hand, like a little ſack; there indeed is put a ſtone weighing three pounds; and ſhe has nothing elſe but her

No. 83. A Legal Combat.

chemiſe, and that is bound together between the legs with a lace. Then the man makes himſelf ready in the pit over againſt his wife. He is buried therein up to the girdle, and one hand is bound at the elbow to the ſide." At this time the practice of ſuch combats in Germany ſeems to have been long known, for it is ſtated that in the year 1200 a man and his wife fought under the ſanction of the civic authorities at Bâle, in Switzerland. In a picture of a combat between man and wife, from a manuſcript reſembling that of Paulus Kall, but executed nearly a century later, the man is placed in a tub inſtead of a pit, with his left arm tied to his ſide as before, and his right holding a ſhort heavy ſtaff; while the woman is dreſſed, and not ſtripped to the chemiſe,

chemiſe, as in the former caſe. The man appears to be holding the ſtick in ſuch a manner that the ſling in which the ſtone was contained would twiſt round it, and the woman would thus be at the mercy of her opponent. In an ancient manuſcript on the ſcience of defence in the library at Gotha, the man in the tub is repreſented as the conqueror of his wife, having thus dragged her head-foremoſt into the tub, where ſhe appears with her legs kicking up in the air.

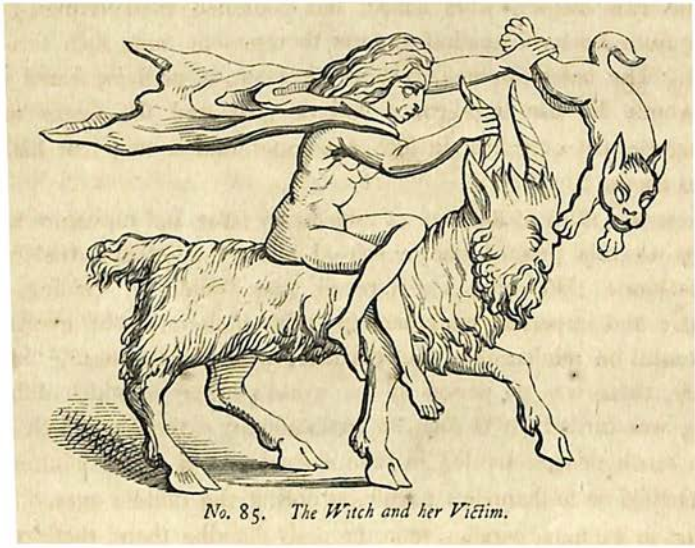
This was the orthodox mode of combat between man and wife, but it was ſometimes practiſed under more ſanguinary forms. In one picture given from theſe old books on the ſcience of defence by the writer of the paper on the ſubject in the Archæologia, the two combatants, naked down to the waiſt, are repreſented fighting with ſharp knives, and inflicting upon each other's bodies frightful gaſhes.

A ſeries of ſtall carvings at Corbeil, near Paris, of which more will be ſaid a little farther on in this chapter, has furniſhed the curious group repreſented in our cut No. 84, which is one of the rather rare pictorial

No. 84. The Witch and the Demon.

allusions to the ſubject of witchcraft. It repreſents a woman who muſt, by her occupation, be a witch, for ſhe has ſo far got the maſtery of the demon that ſhe is ſawing off his head with a very uncomfortable looking inſtrument.

inſtrument. Another ſtory of witchcraft is told in the ſculpture of a ſtone panel at the entrance of the cathedral of Lyons, which is repreſented in our cut No. 85. One power, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by witches, was that of transforming people to animals at will. William of Malmeſbury, in his Chronicle, tells a ſtory of two witches in the



No. 85. The Witch and her Victim.

neighbourhood of Rome, who uſed to allure travellers into their cottage, and there transform them into horſes, pigs, or other animals, which they ſold, and feaſted themſelves with the money. One day a young man, who lived by the profeſſion of a jougleur, ſought a night's lodging at their cottage, and was received, but they turned him into an aſs, and, as he retained his underſtanding and his power of acting, they gained much money by exhibiting him. At length a rich man of the neighbourhood, who wanted him for his private amuſement, offered the two women a large ſum for him, which they accepted, but they warned the new poſſeſſor of the aſs that he ſhould carefully reſtrain him from going into the water, as that would deprive him of his power of performing. The man who had purchaſed the aſs acted upon this advice, and carefully kept him from water, but one day, through the negligence of his keeper, the

aſs

aſs eſcaped from his ſtable, and, ruſhing to a pond at no great diſtance, threw himſelf into it. Water—and running water eſpecially—was believed to deſtroy the power of witchcraft or magic; and no ſooner was the aſs immerſed in the water, than he recovered his original form of a young man. He told his ſtory, which ſoon reached the ears of the pope, and the two women were ſeized, and confeſſed their crimes. The carving from Lyons Cathedral appears to repreſent ſome ſuch ſcene of ſorcery. The naked woman, evidently a witch, is, perhaps, ſeated on a man whom ſhe has transformed into a goat, and ſhe ſeems to be whirling the cat over him in ſuch a manner that it may tear his face with its claws.

There was ſtill another claſs of ſubjects for ſatire and caricature which belongs to this part of our ſubject—I mean that of the trader and manufacturer. We muſt not ſuppoſe that fraudulent trading, that deceptive and imperfect workmanſhip, that adulteration of everything that could be adulterated, are peculiar to modern times. On the contrary, there was no period in the world's hiſtory in which diſhoneſt dealing was carried on to ſuch an extraordinary extent, in which there was ſo much deception uſed in manufactures, or in which adulteration was practiſed on ſo ſhameleſs a ſcale, as during the middle ages. Theſe vices, or, as we may, perhaps, more properly deſcribe them, theſe crimes, are often mentioned in the mediæval writers, but they were not eaſily repreſented pictorially, and therefore we rarely meet with direct alluſions to them, either in ſculpture, on ſtone or wood, or in the paintings of illuminated manuſcripts. Repreſentations of the trades themſelves are not ſo rare, and are ſometimes droll and almoſt burleſque. A curious ſeries of ſuch repreſentations of arts and trades was carved on the *miſereres* of the church of St. Spire, at Corbeil, near Paris, which only exiſt now in Millin's engravings, but they ſeem to have been works of the fifteenth century. Among them the firſt place is given to the various occupations neceſſary for the production of bread, that article ſo important to the ſupport of life. Thus we ſee, in theſe carvings at Corbeil, the labours of the reaper, cutting the wheat and forming it into ſheaves, the miller carrying it away to be ground into meal,

meal, and the baker thruſting it into the oven, and drawing it out in the ſhape of loaves. Our cut No. 86, taken from one of theſe ſculptures, repreſents the baker either putting in or taking out the bread with his

No. 86. A Baker of the Fifteenth Century.

peel; by the earneſt manner in which he looks at it, we may ſuppoſe that it is the latter, and that he is aſcertaining if it be ſufficiently baked. We have an earlier repreſentation of a mediæval oven in our cut No. 87, taken from the celebrated illuminated manuſcript of the "Romance of Alexandre," in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which appears to belong to an early period of the fourteenth century. Here the baker is evidently going to take a loaf out of the oven, for his companion holds a diſh for the purpoſe of receiving it.

No. 87. A Mediæval Baker.

In nothing was fraud and adulteration practiſed to ſo great an extent as

as in the important article of bread, and the two occupations eſpecially employed in making it were objects of very great diſlike and of ſcornful ſatire. The miller was proverbially a thief. Every reader of Chaucer will remember his character ſo admirably drawn in that of the miller of Trumpington, who, though he was as proud and gay "as eny pecok," was neverthelefs eminently diſhoneſt.

A theef he was for ſoth of corn and mele,
And that a ſlelgh (sly), *and uſyng* (practised) *for to ſtele.*
Chaucer's Reeves Tale.

This practice included a large college then exiſting in Cambridge, but now forgotten, the Soler Hall, which ſuffered greatly by his depredations.

And on a day it happed in a ſtounde,
Syk lay the mauncyple on a maledye,
Men wenden wiſly that he ſchulde dye;
For which this meller ſtal bothe mele and corn
A thouſend part more than byforn.
For ther biforn he ſtal but curteyſly;
But now he is a theef outrageouſly.
For which the wardeyn chidde and made fare,
But therof ſette the meller not a tare;
He crakked booſt, and ſwor it was nat ſo.

Two of the ſcholars of this college reſolved to go with the corn to the mill, and by their watchfulneſs prevent his depredations. Thoſe who are acquainted with the ſtory know how the ſcholars ſucceeded, or rather how they failed; how the miller ſtole half a buſhel of their flour and cauſed his wife to make a cake of it; and how the victims had their revenge and recovered the cake.

As already ſtated, the baker had in theſe good old times no better character than the miller, if not worſe. There was an old ſaying, that if three perſons of three obnoxious profeſſions were put together in a ſack and ſhaken up, the firſt who came out would certainly be a rogue, and one of theſe was a baker. Moreover, the opinion concerning the baker was ſo ſtrong that, as in the phraſe taken from the old legends of the witches, who in their feſtivals ſat thirteen at a table, this number was popularly

popularly called a devil's dozen, and was believed to be unlucky—ſo, when the devil's name was abandoned, perhaps for the ſake of euphony, the name ſubſtituted for it was that of the baker, and the number thirteen was called "a baker's dozen." The makers of nearly all ſorts of proviſions for ſale were, in the middle ages, tainted with the ſame vice, and there was nothing from which ſociety in general, eſpecially in the towns where few made bread for themſelves, ſuffered ſo much. This evil is alluded to more than once in that curious educational treatiſe, the "Dictionarius" of John de Garlande, printed in my "Volume of Vocabularies." This writer, who wrote in the earlier half of the thirteenth century, inſinuates that the makers of pies (*paſtillarii*), an article of food which was greatly in repute during the middle ages, often made uſe of bad eggs. The cooks, he ſays further, ſold, eſpecially in Paris to the ſcholars of the univerſity, cooked meats, ſauſages, and ſuch things, which were not fit to eat; while the butchers furniſhed the meat of animals which had died of diſeaſe. Even the ſpices and drugs ſold by the apothecaries, or *épiciers*, were not, he ſays, to be truſted. John de Garlande had evidently an inclination to ſatire, and he gives way to it not unfrequently in the little book of which I am ſpeaking. He ſays that the glovers of Paris cheated the ſcholars of the univerſity, by ſelling them gloves made of bad materials; that the women who gained their living by winding thread (*devacuatrices*, in the Latin of the time), not only emptied the ſcholars' purſes, but waſted their bodies alſo (it is intended as a pun upon the Latin word); and the huckſters ſold them unripe fruit for ripe. The drapers, he ſays, cheated people not only by ſelling bad materials, but by meaſuring them with falſe meaſures; while the hawkers, who went about from houſe to houſe, robbed as well as cheated.

M. Jubinal has publiſhed in his curious volume entitled "Jongleurs et Trouvères," a rather jocular poem on the bakers, written in French of, perhaps, the thirteenth century, in which their art is lauded as much better and more uſeful than that of the goldſmith's. The millers' depredations on the corn ſent to be ground at the mill, are laid to the charge of the rats, which attack it by night, and the hens, which find their way to it by day; and he explains the diminution the bakings

experienced

experienced in the hands of the baker as arising out of the charity of the latter towards the poor and needy, to whom they gave the meal and paste before it had even been put into the oven. The celebrated English poet, John Lydgate, in a short poem preserved in a manuscript in the Harleian Library in the British Museum (MS. Harl. No. 2,255, fol. 157, v°), describes the pillory, which he calls their Bastile, as the proper heritage of the miller and the baker:—

Put out his hed, lyst nat for to dare,
But lyk a man upon that tour to abyde,
For cast of eggys wil not oonys spare,
Tyl he be quallyd body, bak, and syde.
His heed endooryd, and of verray pryde
Put out his armys, shewith abrood his face;
The fenestrallys be made for hym so wyde,
Claymyth to been a capteyn of that place.

The bastyle longith of verray dewe ryght
To fals bakerys, it is trewe herytage
Severalle to them, this knoweth every wyght,
Be kynde assygned for ther sittyng stage;
Wheer they may freely shewe out ther visage,
Whan they tak oonys their possessioun,
Owthir in youthe or in myddyl age;
Men doon hem wrong yif they take hym down.

Let mellerys and bakerys gadre hem a gilde,
And alle of assent make a fraternité,
Undir the pillory a letil chapelle bylde,
The place amorteyse, and purchase lyberté,
For alle thos that of ther noumbre be;
What evir it coost affter that they wende,
They may clayme, be just auctorité,
Upon that bastile to make an ende.

The wine-dealer and the publican formed another class in mediæval society who lived by fraud and dishonesty, and were the objects of satire. The latter gave both bad wine and bad measure, and he often also acted as a pawnbroker, and when people had drunk more than they could pay for, he would take their clothes as pledges for their money. The tavern, in the middle ages, was the resort of very miscellaneous company;

gamblers and looſe women were always on the watch there to lead more honeſt people into ruin, and the tavern-keeper profited largely by their gains; and the more vulgar minſtrel and "jogelour" found employment there; for the middle claſſes of ſociety, and even their betters, frequented the tavern much more generally than at the preſent day. In the carved ſtalls of the church of Corbeil, the liquor merchant is repreſented by the figure of a man wheeling a hogſhead in a barrow, as ſhown in our cut No. 88. The graveneſs and air of importance with which he regards it

No. 88. The Wine Dealer.

would lead us to ſuppoſe that the barrel contains wine; and the cup and jug on the ſhelf above ſhow that it was to be ſold retail. The wine-ſellers called out their wines from their doors, and boaſted of their qualities, in order to tempt people in; and John de Garlande aſſures us that when they entered, they were ſerved with wine which was not worth drinking. "The criers of wine," he ſays, "proclaim with extended throat the diluted wine they have in their taverns, offering it at four pennies, at ſix, at eight, and at twelve, freſh poured out from the gallon caſk into the cup, to tempt people." ("Volume of Vocabularies," p. 126.) The ale-wife was an eſpecial ſubject of jeſt and

and ſatire, and is not unfrequently repreſented on the pictorial monuments of our forefathers. Our cut No. 89 is taken from one of the

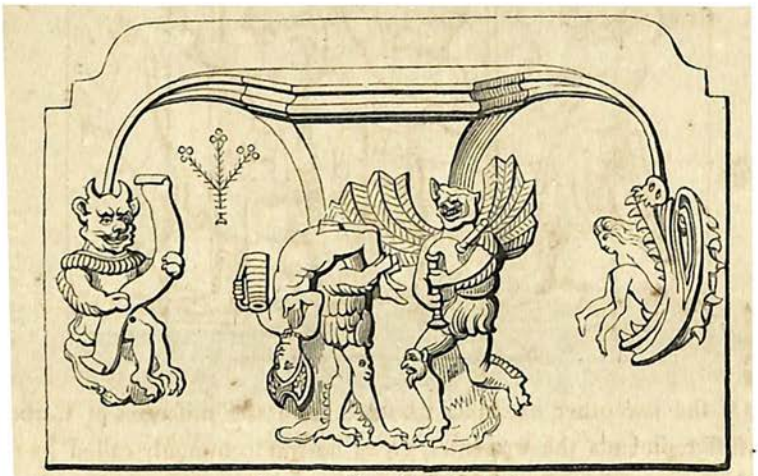
No. 89. The Ale-Wife.

miſereres in the church of Wellingborough, in Northamptonſhire; the ale-wife is pouring her liquor from her jug into a cup to ſerve a ruſtic, who appears to be waiting for it with impatience.

No. 90. The Ale-Drawer.

The figure of the ale-drawer, No. 90, is taken from one of the miſereres in the pariſh church of Ludlow, in Shropſhire. The ſize of his jug is ſomewhat diſproportionate to that of the barrel from which he obtains the ale. The ſame miſereres of Ludlow Church furniſh the next ſcene, cut No. 91, which repreſents the end of the wicked ale-wife. The day of judgment is ſuppoſed to have arrived, and ſhe has received her ſentence. A demon, ſeated on one ſide, is reading a liſt of the

the crimes ſhe has committed, which the magnitude of the parchment ſhows to be a rather copious one. Another demon (whoſe head has been broken off in the original) carries on his back, in a very irreverent manner, the unfortunate lady, in order to throw her into hell-mouth, on the other ſide of the picture. She is naked with the exception of the faſhionable head-gear, which formed one of her vanities



No. 91. The Ale-Wife's End.

in the world, and ſhe carries with her the falſe meaſure with which ſhe cheated her cuſtomers. A demon bagpiper welcomes her on her arrival. The ſcene is full of wit and humour.

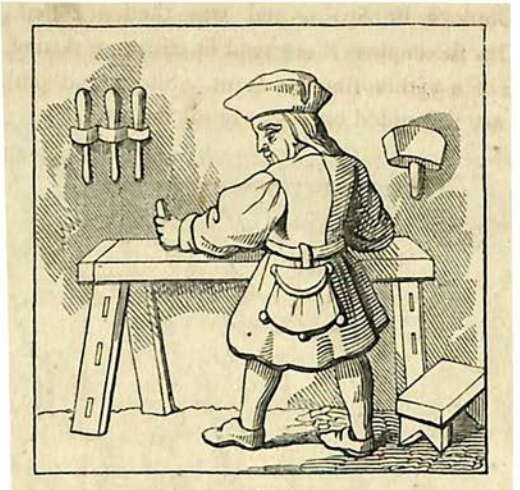
The ruſtic claſſes, and inſtances of their ruſticity, are not unfrequently met with in theſe intereſting carvings. The ſtalls of Corbeil preſent ſeveral agricultural ſcenes. Our cut No. 92 is taken from thoſe of Glouceſter cathedral, of an earlier date, and repreſents the three ſhepherds, aſtoniſhed at the appearance of the ſtar which announced the birth of the Saviour of mankind. Like the three kings, the ſhepherds to whom this revelation was made were always in the middle ages repreſented as three in number. In our drawing from the miſerere in Glouceſter cathedral, the coſtume of the ſhepherds is remarkably well depicted

depicted, even to the details, with the various implements appertaining to their profeſſion, moſt of which are ſuſpended to their girdles. They are drawn with much ſpirit, and even the dog is well repreſented as an eſpecially active partaker in the ſcene.

No. 92. The Shepherds of the Eaſt.

Of the two other examples we ſelect from the miſereres of Corbeil, the firſt repreſents the carpenter, or, as he was commonly called by our Anglo-Saxon and mediæval forefathers, the *wright*, which ſignifies ſimply the "maker." The application of this higher and more general term—for the Almighty himſelf is called in the Anglo-Saxon poetry, *ealra geſcefta wyrhta*, the Maker, or Creator, of all things—ſhows how important an art that of the carpenter was conſidered in the middle ages. Everything made of wood, came within his province. In the Anglo-Saxon "Colloquy" of archbiſhop Alfric, where ſome of the more uſeful artiſans are introduced diſputing about the relative value of their ſeveral crafts, the "wright" ſays, "Who of you can do without my craft, ſince I make houſes and all ſorts of veſſels (*vaſa*), and ſhips for you all?" ("Volume of Vocabularies," p. 11.) And John de Garlande, in the thirteenth century, deſcribes the carpenter as making, among other things, tubs, and barrels, and wine-cades. The workmanſhip of thoſe times was exerciſed, before all other materials, on wood and metals, and the

the wright, or worker in the former material, was diſtinguiſhed by this



No. 93. The Carpenter.

circumſtance from the ſmith, or worker in metal. The carpenter is ſtill called a wright in Scotland. Our laſt cut (No. 94), taken alſo from one

No. 94. The Shoemaker.

of the miſereres at Corbeil, repreſents the ſhoemaker, or as he was then uſually

uſually called, the cordwainer, becauſe the leather which he chiefly uſed came from Cordova in Spain, and was thence called *cordewan*, or *cordewaine*. Our ſhoemaker is engaged in cutting a ſkin of leather with an inſtrument of a rather ſingular form. Shoes, and perhaps forms for making ſhoes, are ſuſpended on pegs againſt the wall.

CHAPTER IX.

GROTESQUE FACES AND FIGURES.—PREVALENCE OF THE TASTE FOR UGLY AND GROTESQUE FACES.—SOME OF THE POPULAR FORMS DERIVED FROM ANTIQUITY; THE TONGUE LOLLING OUT, AND THE DISTORTED MOUTH.—HORRIBLE SUBJECTS: THE MAN AND THE SERPENTS.—ALLEGORICAL FIGURES: GLUTTONY AND LUXURY.—OTHER REPRESENTATIONS OF CLERICAL GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.—GROTESQUE FIGURES OF INDIVIDUALS, AND GROTESQUE GROUPS.—ORNAMENTS OF THE BORDERS OF BOOKS.—UNINTENTIONAL CARICATURE; THE MOTE AND THE BEAM.

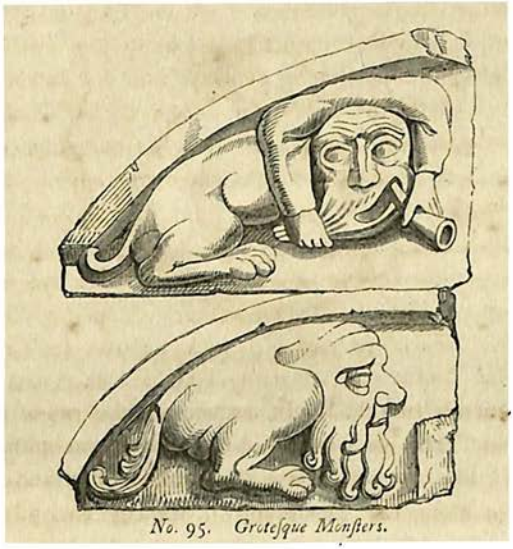
THE grimaces and ſtrange poſtures of the jougleurs ſeem to have had great attractions for thoſe who witneſſed them. To unrefined and uneducated minds no object conveys ſo perfect a notion of mirth as an ugly and diſtorted face. Hence it is that among the common peaſantry at a country fair few exhibitions are more ſatisfactory than that of grinning through a horſe-collar. This ſentiment is largely exemplified in the ſculpture eſpecially of the middle ages, a long period, during which the general character of ſociety preſented that want of refinement which we now obſerve chiefly in its leaſt cultivated claſſes. Among the moſt common decorations of our ancient churches and other mediæval buildings, are groteſque and monſtrous heads and faces. Antiquity, which lent us the types of many of theſe monſtrolities, ſaw in her Typhons and Gorgons a ſignification beyond the ſurface of the picture, and her groteſque maſks had a general meaning, and were in a manner typical of the whole field of comic literature. The maſk was leſs an individual groteſque to be laughed at for itſelf, than a perſonification of comedy. In the middle ages, on the contrary, although in ſome caſes certain forms were often regarded as typical of certain ideas, in general the deſign extended no farther than the forms which the artiſt had given to it; the

groteſque

groteſque features, like the grinning through the horſe-collar, gave ſatisfaction by their mere uglineſs. Even the applications, when ſuch figures were intended to have one, were coarſely ſatirical, without any intellectuality, and, where they had a meaning beyond the plain text of the ſculpture or drawing, it was not far-fetched, but plain and eaſily underſtood. When the Anglo-Saxon drew the face of a bloated and disfigured monk, he no doubt intended thereby to proclaim the popular notion of the general character of monaſtic life, but this was a deſign which nobody could miſunderſtand, an interpretation which everybody was prepared to give to it. We have already ſeen various examples of this deſcription of ſatire, ſcattered here and there among the immenſe maſs of groteſque ſculpture which has no ſuch meaning. A great proportion, indeed, of theſe groteſque ſculptures appears to preſent mere variations of a certain number of diſtinct types which had been handed down from a remote period, ſome of them borrowed, perhaps involuntarily, from antiquity. Hence we naturally look for the earlier and more curious examples of this claſs of art to Italy and the ſouth of France, where the tranſition from claſſical to mediæval was more gradual, and the continued influence of claſſical forms is more eaſily traced. The early Chriſtian maſons appear to have caricatured under the form of ſuch groteſques the perſonages of the heathen mythology, and to this practice we perhaps owe ſome of the types of the mediæval monſters. We have ſeen in a former chapter a groteſque from the church of Monte Majour, near Niſmes, the original type of which had evidently been ſome burleſque figure of Saturn eating one of his children. The claſſical maſk doubtleſs furniſhed the type for thoſe figures, ſo common in mediæval ſculpture, of faces with diſproportionately large mouths; juſt as another favourite claſs of groteſque faces, thoſe with diſtended mouths and tongues lolling out, were taken originally from the Typhons and Gorgons of the ancients. Many other popular types of faces rendered artificially ugly are mere exaggerations of the diſtortions produced on the features by different operations, ſuch, for inſtance, as that of blowing a horn.

The practice of blowing the horn, is, indeed, peculiarly calculated to

exhibit the features of the face to diſadvantage, and was not overlooked by the deſigners of the mediæval decorative ſculpture. One of the large collection of caſts of ſculptures from French cathedrals exhibited in the muſeum at South Kenſington, has furniſhed the two ſubjects given in our cut No. 95. The firſt is repreſented as blowing a horn, but he is



No. 95. Groteſque Monſters.

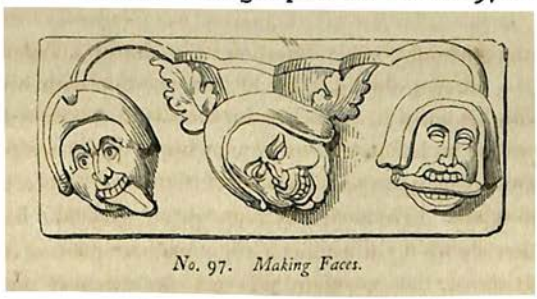
producing the greateſt poſſible diſtortion in his features, and eſpecially in his mouth, by drawing the horn forcibly on one ſide with his left hand, while he pulls his beard in the other direction with the right hand. The force with which he is ſuppoſed to be blowing is perhaps repreſented by the form given to his eyes. The face of the lower figure is in at leaſt comparative repoſe. The deſign of repreſenting general diſtortion in the firſt is further ſhown by the ridiculouſly unnatural poſition of the arms. Such diſtortion of the members was not unfrequently introduced to heighten the effect of the grimace in the face; and, as in theſe examples, it was not uncommon to introduce as a further element of groteſque, the bodies, or parts of the bodies, of animals, or even of demons.

Another

Another caſt in the Kenſington Muſeum is the ſubject of our cut No. 96, which preſents the ſame idea of ſtretching the mouth. The ſubject is here exhibited by another rather mirthful looking individual, but whether the exhibitor is intended to be a goblin or demon, or

No. 96. Diabolical Mirth.

whether he is merely furniſhed with the wings and claws of a bat, ſeems rather uncertain. The bat was looked upon as an unpropitious if not an unholy animal; like the owl, it was the companion of the witches, and of the ſpirits of darkneſs. The group in our cut No. 97 is taken from



No. 97. Making Faces.

one of the carved ſtalls in the church of Stratford-upon-Avon, and repreſents a trio of grimacers. The firſt of theſe three groteſque faces is lolling out the tongue to an extravagant length; the ſecond is ſimply grinning; while the third has taken a ſauſage between his teeth to render

render his grimace ſtill more ridiculous. The number and variety of ſuch groteſque faces, which we find ſcattered over the architectural decoration of our old eccleſiaſtical buildings, are ſo great that I will not attempt to give any more particular claſſification of them. All this church decoration was calculated eſpecially to produce its effect upon the middle and lower claſſes, and mediæval art was, perhaps more than anything elſe, ſuited to mediæval ſociety, for it belonged to the maſs and not to the individual. The man who could enjoy a match at grinning through horſe-collars, muſt have been charmed by the groteſque works of the mediæval ſtone ſculptor and wood carver; and we may add that theſe diſplay, though often rather rude, a very high degree of ſkill in art, a great power of producing ſtriking imagery.

Theſe mediæval artiſts loved alſo to produce horrible objects as well as laughable ones, though even in their horrors they were continually running into the groteſque. Among the adjuncts to theſe ſculptured figures, we ſometimes meet with inſtruments of pain, and very talented attempts to exhibit this on the features of the victims. The creed of the middle ages gave great ſcope for the indulgence of this taſte in the infinitely varied terrors of purgatory and hell; and, not to ſpeak of the more crude deſcriptions that are ſo common in mediæval popular literature, the account to which theſe deſcriptions might be turned by the poet as well as the artiſt are well known to the reader of Dante. Coils of ſerpents and dragons, which were the moſt uſual inſtruments in the tortures of the infernal regions, were always favourite objects in mediæval ornamentation, whether ſculptured or drawn, in the details of architectural decoration, or in the initial letters and margins of books. They are often combined in forming groteſque tracery with the bodies of animals or of human beings, and their movements are generally hoſtile to the latter. We have already ſeen, in previous chapters, examples of this uſe of ſerpents and dragons, dating from the earlieſt periods of mediæval art; and it is perhaps the moſt common ſtyle of ornamentation in the buildings and illuminated manuſcripts in our iſland from the earlier Saxon times to the thirteenth century. This ornamentation is ſometimes ſtrikingly bold and effective. In the cathedral of Wells there is a ſeries

of

of ornamental boſſes, formed by faces writhing under the attacks of numerous dragons, who are ſeizing upon the lips, eyes, and cheeks of their victims. One of theſe boſſes, which are of the thirteenth century, is repreſented in our cut No. 98. A large, coarſely featured face is the

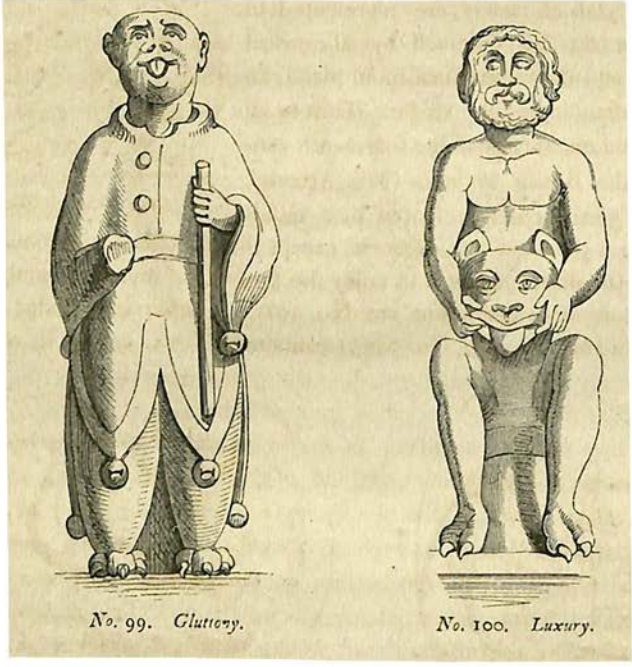
No. 98. Horror.

victim of two dragons, one of which attacks his mouth, while the other has ſeized him by the eye. The expreſſion of the face is ſtrikingly horrible.

The higher mind of the middle ages loved to ſee inner meanings through outward forms; or, at leaſt, it was a faſhion which manifeſted itſelf moſt ſtrongly in the latter half of the twelfth century, to adapt theſe outward forms to inward meanings by compariſons and moraliſations; and under the effect of this feeling certain figures were at times adopted, with a view to ſome other purpoſe than mere ornament, though this was probably an innovation upon mediæval art. The tongue lolling out, taken originally, as we have ſeen, from the imagery of claſſic times, was accepted rather early in the middle ages as the emblem or ſymbol of luxury; and, when we find it among the ſculptured ornaments of the architecture eſpecially of ſome of the larger and more important churches, it implied probably an alluſion to that vice—at leaſt the face preſented to us was intended to be that of a voluptuary. Among the remarkable

ſeries

ſeries of ſculptures which crown the battlements of the cloiſters of Magdalen College, Oxford, executed a very few years after the middle of the fifteenth century, amid many figures of a very miſcellaneous character, there are ſeveral which were thus, no doubt, intended to be repreſentatives of vices, if not of virtues. I give two examples of theſe curious ſculptures.

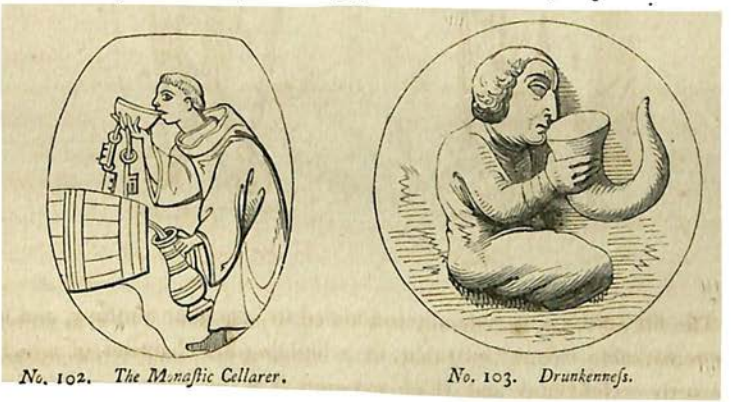


No. 99. Gluttony. *No. 100. Luxury.*

The firſt, No. 99, is generally conſidered to repreſent gluttony, and it is a remarkable circumſtance that, in a building the character of which was partly eccleſiaſtical, and which was erected at the expenſe and under the directions of a great prelate, Biſhop Wainflete, the vice of gluttony, with which the eccleſiaſtical order was eſpecially reproached, ſhould be repreſented in eccleſiaſtical coſtume. It is an additional proof that the detail of the work of the building was left entirely to the builders. The coarſe, bloated features of the face, and the "villainous" low forehead, are

are characteriſtically executed; and the lolling tongue may perhaps be intended to intimate that, in the lives of the clergy, luxury went hand in with its kindred vice. The ſecond of our examples, No. 100, appears by its different characteriſtics (ſome of which we have been unable to introduce in our woodcut) to be intended to repreſent luxury itſelf. Sometimes qualities of the individual man, or even the claſs of ſociety, are repreſented in a manner far leſs diſguiſed by allegorical clothing, and therefore much more plainly to the underſtanding of the vulgar. Thus in an illuminated manuſcript of the fourteenth century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Arundel, No. 91), gluttony is repreſented by a monk devouring a pie alone and in ſecret, except that a little cloven-footed imp holds up the diſh, and ſeems to enjoy the proſpect of monaſtic indulgence. This picture is copied in our cut No. 101. Another manuſcript of the ſame date (MS. Sloane, No. 2435) contains a ſcene, copied in our cut

No. 101. *Monkiſh Gluttony.*



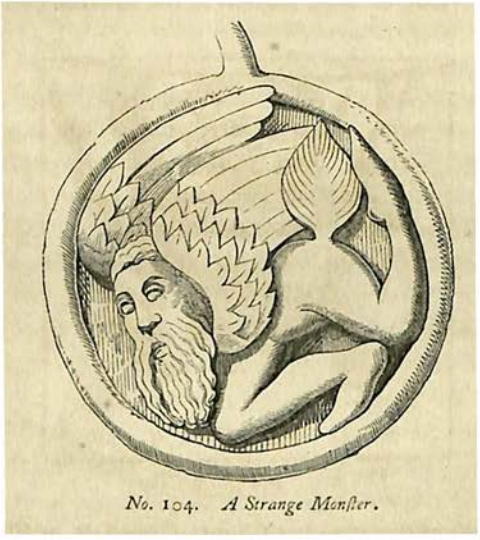
No. 102. *The Monaſtic Cellarer.* *No.* 103. *Drunkenneſs.*

No. 102, repreſenting drunkenneſs under the form of another monk, who has obtained the keys and found his way into the cellar of his monaſtery, and is there indulging his love for good ale in ſimilar ſecrecy. It is to be remarked that here, again, the vices are laid to the charge of the clergy. Our cut No. 103, from a baſ-relief in Ely Cathedral, given in Carter's

"Specimens

"Specimens of Ancient Sculpture," repreſents a man drinking from a horn, and evidently enjoying his employment, but his coſtume is not ſufficiently characteriſtic to betray his quality.

The ſubject of groteſque faces and heads naturally leads us to that of monſtrous and groteſque bodies and groups of bodies, which has already been partly treated in a former chapter, where we have noticed the great love ſhown in the middle ages for monſtrous animated figures, not only monſters of one nature, but, and that eſpecially, of figures formed by joining together the parts of different, and entirely diſſimilar,



No. 104. A Strange Monſter.

animals, of ſimilar mixtures between animals and men. This, as ſtated above, was often effected by joining the body of ſome nondeſcript animal to a human head and face; ſo that, by the diſproportionate ſize of the latter, the body, as a ſecondary part of the picture, became only an adjunct to ſet off ſtill further the groteſque character of the human face. More importance was ſometimes given to the body combined with fantaſtic forms, which baffle any attempt at giving an intelligible deſcription. The accompanying cut, No. 104, repreſents a winged monſter of this kind;

kind; it is taken from one of the caſts from French churches exhibited in the Kenſington Muſeum.

Sometimes the mediæval artiſt, without giving any unuſual form to his human figures, placed them in ſtrange poſtures, or joined them in ſingular combinations. Theſe latter are commonly of a playful character, or ſometimes they repreſent droll feats of ſkill, or puzzles, or other ſubjects, all of which have been publiſhed pictorially and for the amuſement of children down to very recent times. There were a few of theſe groups which are of rather frequent occurrence, and they were evidently favourite types. One of theſe is given in the annexed cut, No. 105. It

No. 105. Rolling Topſy Turvy.

is taken from one of the carved miſereres of the ſtalls in Ely cathedral, as given in Carter, and repreſents two men who appear to be rolling over each other. The upper figure exhibits animal's ears on his cap, which ſeem to proclaim him a member of the fraternity of fools: the ears of the lower figure are concealed from view. This group is not a rare one, eſpecially on ſimilar monuments in France, where the architectural antiquaries have a technical name for it; and this ſhows us how even the particular forms of art in the middle ages were not confined to any particular country, but more or leſs, and with exceptions, they pervaded all

thoſe which acknowledged the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy of the church of Rome; whatever peculiarity of ſtyle it took in particular countries, the ſame forms were ſpread through all weſtern Europe. Our next cut, No. 106, gives another of theſe curious groups, conſiſting, in fact, of two individuals, one of which is evidently an eccleſiaſtic. It will be ſeen that, as we follow this round, we obtain, by means of the two heads, four different figures in ſo many totally different poſitions. This group is taken from one of the very curious ſeats in the cathedral of Rouen in Normandy, which were engraved and publiſhed in an intereſting volume by the late Monſieur E. H. Langlois.

No. 106. A Continuous Group.

No. 107. Border Ornament.

Among the moſt intereſting of the mediæval burleſque drawings are thoſe which are found in ſuch abundance in the borders of the pages of illuminated manuſcripts. During the earlier periods of the mediæval miniatures, the favourite objects for theſe borders were monſtrous animals, eſpecially dragons, which could eaſily be twined into groteſque combinations. In courſe of time, the ſubjects thus introduced became more numerous, and in the fifteenth century they were very varied. Strange animals ſtill continued to be favourites, but they were more light and elegant in their forms, and were more gracefully deſigned. Our cut No. 107, taken from the beautifully-illuminated manuſcript of the romance of the "Comte d'Artois," of the fifteenth century, which has furniſhed us previouſly with ſeveral cuts, will illuſtrate my meaning. The graceful lightneſs of the tracery of the foliage ſhown in this

this deſign is found in none of the earlier works of art of this claſs. This, of courſe, is chiefly to be aſcribed to the great advance which had been made in the art of deſign ſince the thirteenth century. But, though ſo greatly improved in the ſtyle of art, the ſame claſs of ſubjects continued to be introduced in this border ornamentation long after the art of printing, and that of engraving, which accompanied it, had been introduced. The revolution in the ornamentation of the borders of the pages of books was effected by the artiſts of the ſixteenth century, at which time people had become better acquainted with, and had learnt to appreciate, ancient art and Roman antiquities, and they drew their inſpiration from a correct knowledge of what the middle ages had copied blindly, but had not underſtood. Among the ſubjects of burleſque which the monuments of Roman art preſented to them, the ſtumpy figures of the pigmies appear to have gained ſpecial favour, and they are employed in a manner which reminds us of the pictures found in Pompeii. Joſt Amman, the well-known artiſt, who exerciſed his profeſſion at Nuremberg in the latter half of the ſixteenth century, engraved a ſet of

No. 108. *A Triumphal Proceſſion.*

illuſtrations to Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which were printed at Lyons in 1574, and each cut and page of which is encloſed in a border of very fanciful and neatly-executed burleſque. The pigmies are introduced in theſe borders very freely, and are grouped with great ſpirit. I ſelect as an example, cut No. 108, a ſcene which repreſents a triumphal proceſſion—

ſome

ſome pigmy Alexander returning from his conqueſts. The hero is ſeated on a throne carried by an elephant, and before him a bird, perhaps a vanquiſhed crane, proclaims loudly his praiſe. Before them a pigmy attendant marches proudly, carrying in one hand the olive branch of peace, and leading in the other a ponderous but captive oſtrich, as a trophy of his maſter's victories. Before him again a pigmy warrior, heavily armed with battle-axe and falchion, is mounting the ſteps of a ſtage, on which a nondeſcript animal, partaking ſomewhat of the character of a ſow, but perhaps intended as a burleſque on the ſtrange animals which, in mediæval romance, Alexander was ſaid to have encountered in Egypt, blows a horn, to celebrate or announce the return of the conqueror. A ſnail, alſo advancing ſlowly up the ſtage, implies, perhaps, a ſneer at the whole ſcene.

Nevertheleſs, theſe old German, Flemiſh, and Dutch artiſts were ſtill much influenced by the mediæval ſpirit, which they diſplayed in their coarſe and clumſy imagination, in their neglect of everything like congruity in their treatment of the ſubject with regard to time and place, and their *naïve* exaggerations and blunders. Extreme examples of theſe characteriſtics are ſpoken of, in which the Iſraelites croſſing the Red Sea are armed with muſkets, and all the other accoutrements of modern ſoldiers, and in which Abraham is preparing to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac by ſhooting him with a matchlock. In delineating ſcriptural ſubjects, an attempt is generally made to clothe the figures in an imaginary ancient oriental coſtume, but the landſcapes are filled with the modern caſtles and manſion houſes, churches, and monaſteries of weſtern Europe. Theſe half-mediæval artiſts, too, like their more ancient predeceſſors, often fall into unintentional caricature by the exaggeration or ſimplicity with which they treat their ſubjects. There was one ſubject which the artiſts of this period of regeneration of art ſeemed to have agreed to treat in a very unimaginative manner. In the beautiful Sermon on the Mount, our Saviour, in condemning haſty judgments of other people's actions, ſays (Matt. vii. 3—5), "And why beholdeſt thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but conſidereſt not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou ſay to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote

mote out of thine eye, and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, firſt caſt out the beam out of thine own eye, and then ſhalt thou ſee clearly to caſt out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Whatever be the exact nature of the beam which the man was expected to overlook in his "own eye," it certainly was not a large beam of timber. Yet ſuch was the conception of it by artiſts of the ſixteenth century. One of them, named Solomon Bernard, deſigned a ſeries of woodcuts illuſtrating the New Teſtament, which were publiſhed at Lyons in 1553; and the manner in which he treated the ſubject will be ſeen in our cut No. 109, taken from one of the illuſtrations to that book. The individual

No. 109. *The Mote and the Beam.*

ſeated is the man who has a mote in his eye, which the other, approaching him, points out; and he retorts by pointing to the "beam," which is certainly ſuch a maſſive object as could not eaſily have been overlooked. About thirteen years before this, an artiſt of Augſburg, named Daniel Hopfer, had publiſhed a large copper-plate engraving of this ſame ſubject, a reduced copy of which is given in the cut No. 110. The individual who ſees the mote in his brother's eye, is evidently treating it in the character

character of a phyſician or ſurgeon. It is only neceſſary to add that the beam in his own eye is of ſtill more extraordinary dimenſions than the former, and that, though it ſeems to eſcape the notice both of himſelf

No. 110. *The Mote and the Beam—Another Treatment.*

and his patient, it is evident that the group in the diſtance contemplate it with aſtoniſhment. The building accompanying this ſcene appears to be a church, with paintings of ſaints in the windows.

CHAPTER X.

SATIRICAL LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—JOHN DE HAUTEVILLE AND ALAN DE LILLE.—GOLIAS AND THE GOLIARDS.—THE GOLIARDIC POETRY.—TASTE FOR PARODY.—PARODIES ON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.—POLITICAL CARICATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—THE JEWS OF NORWICH.—CARICATURE REPRESENTATIONS OF COUNTRIES.—LOCAL SATIRE.—POLITICAL SONGS AND POEMS.

IN a previous chapter I have ſpoken of a claſs of ſatirical literature which was entirely popular in its character. Not that on this account it was original among the peoples who compoſed mediæval ſociety, for the intellectual development of the middle ages came almoſt all from Rome through one medium or other, although we know ſo little of the details of the popular literature of the Romans that we cannot always trace it. The mediæval literature of weſtern Europe was moſtly modelled upon that of France, which was received, like its language, from Rome. But when the great univerſity ſyſtem became eſtabliſhed, towards the end of the eleventh century, the ſcholars of weſtern Europe became more directly acquainted with the models of literature which antiquity had left them; and during the twelfth century theſe found imitators ſo ſkilful that ſome of them almoſt deceive us into accepting them for claſſical writers themſelves. Among the firſt of theſe models to attract the attention of mediæval ſcholars, were the Roman ſatiriſts, and the ſtudy of them produced, during the twelfth century, a number of ſatirical writers in Latin proſe and verſe, who are remarkable not only for their boldneſs and poignancy, but for the elegance of their ſtyle. I may mention among thoſe of Engliſh birth, John of Saliſbury, Walter Mapes, and Giraldus Cambrenſis, who all wrote in proſe, and Nigellus Wireker, already mentioned in a former chapter, and John de Hauteville, who wrote in verſe.

verſe. The firſt of theſe, in his "Polycraticus," Walter Mapes, in his book "De Nugis Curialium," and Giraldus, in his "Speculum Eccleſiæ," and ſeveral other of his writings, lay the laſh on the corruptions and vices of their contemporaries with no tender hand. The two moſt remarkable Engliſh ſatiriſts of the twelfth century were John de Hauteville and Nigellus Wireker. The former wrote, in the year 1184, a poem in nine books of Latin hexameters, entitled, after the name of its hero, "Architrenius," or the Arch-mourner. Architrenius is repreſented as a youth, arrived at years of maturity, who ſorrows over the ſpectacle of human vices and weakneſſes, until he reſolves to go on a pilgrimage to Dame Nature, in order to expoſtulate with her for having made him feeble to reſiſt the temptations of the world, and to entreat her aſſiſtance. On his way, he arrives ſucceſſively at the court of Venus and at the abode of Gluttony, which give him the occaſion to dwell at conſiderable length on the licenſe and luxury which prevailed among his contemporaries. He next reaches Paris, and viſits the famous mediæval univerſity, and his ſatire on the manners of the ſtudents and the fruitleſſneſs of their ſtudies, forms a remarkable and intereſting picture of the age. The pilgrim next arrives at the Mount of Ambition, tempting by its beauty and by the ſtately palace with which it was crowned, and here we are preſented with a ſatire on the manners and corruptions of the court. Near to this was the Hill of Preſumption, which was inhabited by eccleſiaſtics of all claſſes, great ſcholaſtic doctors and profeſſors, monks, and the like. It is a ſatire on the manners of the clergy. As Architrenius turns from this painful ſpectacle, he encounters a gigantic and hideous monſter named Cupidity, is led into a ſeries of reflections upon the greedineſs and avarice of the prelates, from which he is rouſed by the uproar cauſed by a fierce combat between the prodigals and the miſers. He is ſubſequently carried to the iſland of far-diſtant Thule, which he finds to be the reſting-place of the philoſophers of ancient Greece, and he liſtens to their declamations againſt the vices of mankind. After this viſit, Architrenius reaches the end of his pilgrimage. He finds Nature in the form of a beautiful woman, dwelling with a hoſt of attendants in the midſt of a flowery plain, and meats with a courteous reception, but ſhe begins by giving

giving him a long lecture on natural philoſophy. After this is concluded, Dame Nature liſtens to his complaints, and, to conſole him, gives him a handſome woman, named Moderation, for a wife, and diſmiſſes him with a chapter of good counſels on the duties of married life. The general moral intended to be inculcated appears to be that the retirement of domeſtic happineſs is to be preferred to the vain and heartleſs turmoils of active life in all its phaſes. It will be ſeen that the kind of allegory which ſubſequently produced the "Pilgrim's Progreſs," had already made its appearance in mediæval literature.

Another of the celebrated ſatiriſts of the ſcholaſtic ages was named Alanus de Inſulis, or Alan of Lille, becauſe he is underſtood to have been born at Lille in Flanders. He occupied the chair of theology for many years in the univerſity of Paris with great diſtinction, and his learning was ſo extenſive that he gained the name of *doctor univerſalis*, the univerſal doctor. In one of his books, which is an imitation of that favourite book in the middle ages "Boethius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ," Dame Nature, in the place of Philoſophy—not, as in John de Hauteville, as the referee, but as the complainant—is introduced bitterly lamenting over the deep depravity of the thirteenth century, eſpecially diſplayed in the prevalence of vices of a revolting character. This work, which, like Boethius, conſiſts of alternate chapters in verſe and proſe, is entitled "De Planctu Naturæ," the lamentation of nature. I will not, however, go on here to give a liſt of the graver ſatirical writers, but we will proceed to another claſs of ſatiriſts which ſprang up among the mediæval ſcholars, more remarkable and more peculiar in their character—I mean peculiar to the middle ages.

The ſatires of the time ſhow us that the ſtudents in the univerſities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who enjoyed a great amount of independence from authority, were generally wild and riotous, and, among the vaſt number of youths who then devoted themſelves to a ſcholaſtic life, we can have no doubt that the habit of diſſipation became permanent. Among theſe wild ſtudents there exiſted, probably, far more wit and ſatirical talent than among their ſteadier and more laborious brethren, and this wit, and the manner in which it was diſplayed, made its poſſeſſors welcome gueſts at the luxurious tables of the higher and

richer clergy, at which Latin ſeems to have been the language in ordinary uſe. In all probability it was from this circumſtance (in alluſion to the Latin word *gula*, as intimating their love of the table) that theſe merry ſcholars, who diſplayed in Latin ſome of the accompliſhments which the jougleurs profeſſed in the vulgar tongue, took or received the name of *goliards* (in the Latin of that time, *goliardi*, or *goliardenſes*).* The name at leaſt appears to have been adopted towards the end of the twelfth century. In the year 1229, during the minority of Louis IX., and while the government of France was in the hands of the queen-mother, troubles aroſe in the univerſity of Paris through the intrigues of the papal legate, and the turbulence of the ſcholars led to their diſperſion and to the temporary cloſing of the ſchools; and the contemporary hiſtorian, Matthew Paris, tells us how "ſome of the ſervants of the departing ſcholars, or thoſe whom we uſed to call goliardenſes," compoſed an indecent epigram on the rumoured familiarities between the legate and the queen. But this is not the firſt mention of the goliards, for a ſtatute of the council of Treves, in 1227, forbade "all prieſts to permit truants, or other wandering ſcholars, or goliards, to ſing verſes or *Sanctus* and *Angelus Dei* in the ſervice of the maſs."† This probably refers to parodies on the religious ſervice, ſuch as thoſe of which I ſhall ſoon have to ſpeak. From this time the goliards are frequently mentioned. In eccleſiaſtical ſtatutes publiſhed in the year 1289, it is ordered that the clerks or clergy (*clerici*, that is, men who had their education in the univerſity) ſhould not be jougleurs, goliards, or buffoons;"‡ and the ſame ſtatute proclaims a heavy penalty againſt thoſe *clerici* "who perſiſt in the practice

* In the mediæval Latin, the word *goliardia* was introduced to express the profession of the goliard, and the verb *goliardizare*, to signify the practice of it.

† "Item, præcipimus ut omnes sacerdotes non permittant trutannos et alios vagos scholares, aut goliardos, cantare versus super *Sanctus* et *Angelus Dei* in missis," etc.—Concil. Trevir., an 1227, ap. Marten. et Durand. Ampliss. Coll., vii. col. 117.

‡ "Item, præcipimus quod clerici non sint joculatores, goliardi, seu bufones."—Stat. Synod. Caduacensis, Ruthenensis, et Tutelensis Eccles. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecd., iv. col. 727.

practice of goliardy or ſtage performance during a year,"* which ſhows that they exerciſed more of the functions of the jougleur than the mere ſinging of ſongs.

Theſe vagabond clerks made for themſelves an imaginary chieftain, or preſident of their order, to whom they gave the name of Golias, probably as a pun on the name of the giant who combated againſt David, and, to ſhow further their defiance of the exiſting church government, they made him a biſhop—*Golias epiſcopus*. Biſhop Golias was the burleſque repreſentative of the clerical order, the general ſatiriſt, the reformer of eccleſiaſtical and all other corruptions. If he was not a doctor of divinity, he was a maſter of arts, for he is ſpoken of as *Magiſter Golias*. But above all he was the father of the Goliards, the "ribald clerks," as they are called, who all belonged to his houſehold,† and they are ſpoken of as his children.

Summa ſalus omnium, filius Mariæ,
Paſcat, potat, veſtiat pueros Golyæ!‡

"May the Saviour of all, the Son of Mary, give food, drink, and clothes to the children of Golias!" Still the name was clothed in ſo much myſtery, that Giraldus Cambrenſis, who flouriſhed towards the latter end of the twelfth century, believed Golias to be a real perſonage, and his contemporary. It may be added that Golias not only boaſts of the dignity of biſhop, but he appears ſometimes under the title of *archipoeta*, the archpoet or poet-in-chief.

Cæſarius of Heiſterbach, who completed his book of the miracles of his time in the year 1222, tells us a curious anecdote of the character of the wandering clerk. In the year before he wrote, he tells us, "It happened at Bonn, in the dioceſe of Cologne, that a certain wandering clerk,

* "Clerici . . . . si in goliardia vel histrionatu per annum fuerint."—Ib. col. 729. In one of the editions of this statute it is added, "after they have been warned three times."

† "Clerici ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur *de familia Goliæ*."—Concil. Sen. ap. Concil., tom. ix. p. 578.

‡ See my "Poems of Walter Mapes," p. 70.

clerk, named Nicholas, of the claſs they call archpoet, was grievouſly ill, and when he ſuppoſed that he was dying, he obtained from our abbot, through his own pleading, and the interceſſion of the canons of the ſame church, admiſſion into the order. What more? He put on the tunic, as it appeared to us, with much contrition, but, when the danger was paſt, he took it off immediately, and, throwing it down with deriſion, took to flight." We learn beſt the character of the goliards from their own poetry, a conſiderable quantity of which is preſerved. They wandered about from manſion to manſion, probably from monaſtery to monaſtery, juſt like the jougleurs, but they ſeem to have been eſpecially welcome at the tables of the prelates of the church, and, like the jougleurs, beſides being well feaſted, they received gifts of clothing and other articles. In few inſtances only were they otherwiſe than welcome, as deſcribed in the rhyming epigram printed in my "Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes." "I come uninvited," ſays the goliard to the biſhop, "ready for dinner; ſuch is my fate, never to dine invited." The biſhop replies, "I care not for vagabonds, who wander among the fields, and cottages, and villages; ſuch gueſts are not for my table. I do not invite you, for I avoid ſuch as you; yet without my will you may eat the bread you aſk. Waſh, wipe, ſit, dine, drink, wipe, and depart."

Goliardus.

Non invitatus venio prandere paratus;
Sic ſum fatatus, nunquam prandere vocatus.

Epiſcopus.

Non ego curo vagos, qui rura, mapalia, pagos
Perluſtrant, tales non vult mea menſa ſodales.
Te non invito, tibi conſimiles ego vito;
Me tamen invito potieris pane petito.
Ablue, terge, ſede, prande, bibe, terge, recede.

In another ſimilar epigram, the goliard complains of the biſhop who had given him as his reward nothing but an old worn-out mantle. Moſt of the writers of the goliardic poetry complain of their poverty, and ſome of them admit that this poverty aroſe from the tavern and the love of gambling. One of them alleges as his claim to the liberality of his

his hoſt, that, as he was a ſcholar, he had not learnt to labour, that his parents were knights, but he had no taſte for fighting, and that, in a word, he preferred poetry to any occupation. Another ſpeaks ſtill more to the point, and complains that he is in danger of being obliged to ſell his clothes. "If this garment of vair which I wear," he ſays, "be ſold for money, it will be a great diſgrace to me; I would rather ſuffer a long faſt. A biſhop, who is the moſt generous of all generous men, gave me this cloak, and will have for it heaven, a greater reward than St. Martin has, who only gave half of his cloak. It is needful now that the poet's want be relieved by your liberality [addreſſing his hearers]; let noble men give noble gifts—gold, and robes, and the like."

Si vendatur propter denarium
Indumentum quod porto varium,
Grande mihi fiet opprobrium;
Malo diu pati jejunium.
Largiſſimus largorum omnium
Præſul dedit mihi hoc pallium,
Majus habens in cælis præmium
Quam Martinus, qui dedit medium.
Nunc eſt opus ut veſtra copia
Sublevetur vatis inopia;
Dent nobiles dona nobilia,—
Aurum, veſtes, et his ſimilia.

There has been ſome difference of opinion as to the country to which this poetry more eſpecially belongs. Giraldus Cambrenſis, writing at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, evidently thought that Golias was an Engliſhman; and at a later date the goliardic poetry was almoſt all aſcribed to Giraldus's contemporary and friend, the celebrated humouriſt, Walter Mapes. This was, no doubt, an error. Jacob Grimm ſeemed inclined to claim them for Germany; but Grimm, on this occaſion, certainly took a narrow view of the queſtion. We ſhall probably be more correct in ſaying that they belonged in common to all the countries over which univerſity learning extended; that in whatever country a particular poem of this claſs was compoſed, it became the property of the whole body of theſe ſcholaſtic jougleurs, and that it was thus

thus carried from one land to another, receiving ſometimes alterations or additions to adapt it to each. Several of theſe poems are found in manuſcripts written in different countries with ſuch alterations and additions, as, for inſtance, that in the well-known "Confeſſion," in the Engliſh copies of which we have, near the concluſion, the line—

Præſul Coventrenſium, parce confitenti;

an appeal to the biſhop of Coventry, which is changed, in a copy in a German manuſcript, to

Electe Coloniæ, parce pœnitenti,

"O elect of Cologne, ſpare me penitent." From a compariſon of what remains of this poetry in manuſcripts written in different countries, it appears probable that the names Golias and goliard originated in the univerſity of Paris, but were more eſpecially popular in England, while the term *archipoeta* was more commonly uſed in Germany.

In 1841 I collected all the goliardic poetry which I could then find in Engliſh manuſcripts, and edited it, under the name of Walter Mapes, as one of the publications of the Camden Society.* At a rather later date I gave a chapter of additional matter of the ſame deſcription in my "Anecdota Literaria."† All the poems I have printed in theſe two volumes are found in manuſcripts written in England, and ſome of them are certainly the compoſitions of Engliſh writers. They are diſtinguiſhed by remarkable facility and eaſe in verſification and rhyme, and by great pungency of ſatire. The latter is directed eſpecially againſt the clerical order, and none are ſpared, from the pope at the ſummit of the ſcale down to the loweſt of the clergy. In the "Apocalypſis Goliæ," or Golias's Revelations, which appears to have been the moſt popular of all theſe poems,

* The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, collected and edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., 4to., London, 1841.

† "Anecdota Literaria; a Collection of Short Poems in English, Latin, and French, illustrative of the Literature and History of England in the Thirteenth Century." Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. 8vo., London, 1844.

poems,* the poet deſcribes himſelf as carried up in a viſion to heaven, where the vices and diſorders of the various claſſes of the popiſh clergy are ſucceſſively revealed to him. The pope is a devouring lion; in his eagerneſs for pounds, he pawns books; at the ſight of a mark of money, he treats Mark the Evangeliſt with diſdain; while he ſails aloft, money alone is his anchoring-place. The original lines will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the ſtyle of theſe curious compoſitions, and of the love of punning which was ſo characteriſtic of the literature of that age:—

Eſt leo pontifex ſummus, qui devorat,
Qui libras ſitiens, libros impignorat;
Marcam reſpiciet, Marcum dedecorat;
In ſummis navigans, in nummis anchorat.

The biſhop is in haſte to intrude himſelf into other people's paſtures, and fills himſelf with other people's goods. The ravenous archdeacon is compared to an eagle, becauſe he has ſharp eyes to ſee his prey afar off, and is ſwift to ſeize upon it. The dean is repreſented by an animal with a man's face, full of ſilent guile, who covers fraud with the form of juſtice, and by the ſhow of ſimplicity would make others believe him to be pious. In this ſpirit the faults of the clergy, of all degrees, are minutely criticiſed through between four and five hundred lines; and it muſt not be forgotten that it was the Engliſh clergy whoſe character was thus expoſed.

Tu ſcribes etiam, formâ ſed alia,
Septem eccleſiis quæ ſunt in Anglia.

Others of theſe pieces are termed Sermons, and are addreſſed, ſome to the biſhops and dignitaries of the church, others to the pope, others to the monaſtic orders, and others to the clergy in general. The court of Rome, we are told, was infamous for its greedineſs; there all right and juſtice were put up for ſale, and no favour could be had without money. In this court money occupies everybody's thoughts; its croſs—*i. e.* the mark on

* In my edition I have collated no less than sixteen copies which occur among the MSS. in the British Museum, and in the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, and there are, no doubt, many more.

on the reverſe of the coin—its roundneſs, and its whiteneſs, all pleaſe the Romans; where money ſpeaks law is ſilent.

Nummis in hac curia non eſt qui non vacet;
Crux placet, rotunditas, et albedo placet,
Et cum totum placeat, et Romanis placet,
Ubi nummus loquitur, et lex omnis tacet.

Perhaps one of the moſt curious of theſe poems is the "Confeſſion of Golias," in which the poet is made to ſatiriſe himſelf, and he thus gives us a curious picture of the goliard's life. He complains that he is made of light material, which is moved by every wind; that he wanders about irregularly, like the ſhip on the ſea or the bird in the air, ſeeking worthleſs companions like himſelf. He is a ſlave to the charms of the fair ſex. He is a martyr to gambling, which often turns him out naked to the cold, but he is warmed inwardly by the inſpiration of his mind, and he writes better poetry than ever. Lechery and gambling are two of his vices, and the third is drinking. "The tavern," he ſays, "I never deſpiſed, nor ſhall I ever deſpiſe it, until I ſee the holy angels coming to ſing the eternal requiem over my corpſe. It is my deſign to die in the tavern; let wine be placed to my mouth when I am expiring, that when the choirs of angels come, they may ſay, 'Be God propitious to this drinker!' The lamp of the ſoul is lighted with cups; the heart ſteeped in nectar flies up to heaven; and the wine in the tavern has for me a better flavour than that which the biſhop's butler mixes with water. . . . . Nature gives to every one his peculiar gift: I never could write faſting; a boy could beat me in compoſition when I am hungry; I hate thirſt and faſting as much as death."

Tertio capitulo memoro tabernam:
Illam nullo tempore ſprevi, neque ſpernam,
Donec ſanctos angelos venientes cernam,
Cantantes pro mortuo requiem æternam.

Meum eſt propoſitum in taberna mori;
Vindum ſit appoſitum morientis ori,
Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
'Deus ſit propitius huic potatori!'

Poculis

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna;
Cor imbutum nectare volat ad ſuperna:
Mihi ſapit dulcius vinum in taberna,
Quam quod aqua miſcuit præſulis pincerna.
* * * * * * * *
Unicuique proprium dat natura munus:
Ego nunquam potui ſcribere jejunus;
Me jejunum vincere poſſet puer unus;
*Sitim et jejunium odi tanquam junus.**

Another of the more popular of theſe goliardic poems was the advice of Golias againſt marriage, a groſs ſatire upon the female ſex. Contrary to what we might perhaps expect from their being written in Latin, many of theſe metrical ſatires are directed againſt the vices of the laity, as well as againſt thoſe of the clergy.

In 1844 the celebrated German ſcholar, Jacob Grimm, publiſhed in the "Tranſactions of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin" a ſelection of goliardic verſes from manuſcripts in Germany, which had evidently been written by Germans, and ſome of them containing alluſions to German affairs in the thirteenth century.† They preſent the ſame form of verſe and the ſame ſtyle of ſatire as thoſe found in England, but the name of Golias is exchanged for *archipoeta*, the archpoet. Some of the ſtanzas of the "Confeſſion of Golias" are found in a poem in which the archpoet addreſſes a petition to the archchancellor for aſſiſtance in his diſtreſs, and confeſſes his partiality for wine. A copy of the Confeſſion itſelf is alſo found in this German collection, under the title of the "Poet's Confeſſion."

The Royal Library at Munich contains a very important manuſcript of this goliardic Latin poetry, written in the thirteenth century. It belonged originally to one of the great Benedictine abbeys in Bavaria, where it appears to have been very carefully preſerved, but ſtill with an apparent conſciouſneſs that it was not exactly a book for a religious brotherhood, which led the

* Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, p. 73. The ſtanzas here quoted, with ſome others, were afterwards made up into a drinking ſong, which was rather popular in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries.

† "Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I. den Staufar, und aus ſeiner ſo wie der nächſtfolgenden Zeit," 4to. Separate copies of this work were printed off and diſtributed among mediæval ſcholars

the monks to omit it in the catalogue of their library, no doubt as a book the poſſeſſion of which was not to be proclaimed publicly. When written, it was evidently intended to be a careful ſelection of the poetry of this claſs then current. One part of it conſiſts of poetry of a more ſerious character, ſuch as hymns, moral poems, and eſpecially ſatirical pieces. In this claſs there are more than one piece which are alſo found in the manuſcripts written in England. A very large portion of the collection conſiſts of love ſongs, which, although eyidently treaſured by the Benedictine monks, are ſometimes licentious in character. A third claſs conſiſts of drinking and gambling ſongs (*potatoria et luſoria*). The general character of this poetry is more playful, more ingenious and intricate in its metrical ſtructure, in fact, more lyric than that of the poetry we have been deſcribing; yet it came, in all probability, from the ſame claſs of poets—the clerical jougleurs. The touches of ſentiment, the deſcriptions of female beauty, the admiration of nature, are ſometimes expreſſed with remarkable grace. Thus, the green wood ſweetly enlivened by the joyous voices of its feathered inhabitants, the ſhade of its branches, the thorns covered with flowers, which, ſays the poet, are emblematical of love, which pricks like a thorn and then ſoothes like a flower, are taſtefully deſcribed in the following lines:—

Cantu nemus avium
Laſcivia canentium
Suave delinitur,
Fronde redimitur,
Vernant ſpinæ floribus
Micantibus,
Venerem ſignantibus
Quia ſpina pungit, flos blanditur.

And the following ſcrap of the deſcription of a beautiful damſel ſhows no ſmall command of language and verſification—

Allicit dulcibus
Verbis et oſculis,
Labellulis
Caſtigate tumentibus,
Roſeo nectareus
Odor infuſus ori;
Pariter eburneus
Sedat ordo dentium
Par niveo candori.

The

The whole contents of this manuſcript were printed in 1847, in an octavo volume, iſſued by the Literary Society at Stuttgard.* I had already printed ſome examples of ſuch amatory Latin lyric poetry in 1838, in a volume of "Early Myſteries and Latin Poems;"† but this poetry does not belong properly to the ſubject of the preſent volume, and I paſs on from it.

The goliards did not always write in verſe, for we have ſome of their proſe compoſitions, and theſe appear eſpecially in the form of parodies. We trace a great love for parody in the middle ages, which ſpared not even things the moſt ſacred, and the examples brought forward in the celebrated trial of William Hone, were mild in compariſon to ſome which are found ſcattered here and there in mediæval manuſcripts. In my Poems, attributed to Walter Mapes,‡ I have printed a ſatire in proſe entitled "*Magiſter Golyas de quodam abbate*" (*i.e.*, Maſter Golias's account of a certain abbot), which has ſomewhat the character of a parody upon a ſaint's legend. The voluptuous life of the ſuperior of a monaſtic houſe is here deſcribed in a tone of banter which nothing could excel. Several parodies, more direct in their character, are printed in the two volumes of the "Reliquæ Antiquæ."§ One of theſe (vol. ii. p. 208) is a complete parody on the ſervice of the maſs, which is entitled in the original, "*Miſſa de Potatoribus*," the Maſs of the Drunkard. In this extraordinary compoſition, even the pater-noſter is parodied. A portion of this, with great variations, is found in the German collection of the Carmina Burana, under the title of *Officium Luſorum*, the Office of the Gamblers.

In

* "Carmina Burana. Lateinische und Deutsche Lieder und Gedichte einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benedictbeurn auf der K. Bibliothek zu München." 8vo. Stuttgart, 1847.

† "Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. 8vo. London, 1838.

‡ Introduction, p. xl.

§ "Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language." Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., and J. O. Halliwell, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. i., London, 1841; vol. ii., 1843.

In the "Reliquæ Antiquæ" (ii. 58) we have a parody on the Goſpel of St. Luke, beginning with the words, *Initium fallacis Evangelii ſecundum Lupum*, this laſt word being, of courſe, a ſort of pun upon Lucam. Its ſubject alſo is Bacchus, and the ſcene having been laid in a tavern in Oxford, we have no difficulty in aſcribing it to ſome ſcholar of that univerſity in the thirteenth century. Among the Carmina Burana we find a ſimilar parody on the Goſpel of St. Mark, which has evidently belonged to one of theſe burleſques on the church ſervice; and as it is leſs profane than the others, and at the ſame time pictures the mediæval hatred towards the church of Rome, I will give a tranſlation of it as an example of this ſingular claſs of compoſitions. It is hardly neceſſary to remind the reader that a mark was a coin of the value of thirteen ſhillings and fourpence:—

"The beginning of the holy goſpel according to Marks of ſilver. At that time the pope ſaid to the Romans: 'When the ſon of man ſhall come to the ſeat of our majeſty, firſt ſay, Friend, for what haſt thou come? But if he ſhould perſevere in knocking without giving you anything, caſt him out into utter darkneſs.' And it came to paſs, that a certain poor clerk came to the court of the lord the pope, and cried out, ſaying, 'Have pity on me at leaſt, you doorkeepers of the pope, for the hand of poverty has touched me. For I am needy and poor, and therefore I ſeek your aſſiſtance in my calamity and miſery.' But they hearing this were highly indignant, and ſaid to him: 'Friend, thy poverty be with thee in perdition; get thee backward, Satan, for thou doſt not ſavour of thoſe things which have the ſavour of money. Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, Thou ſhalt not enter into the joy of thy lord, until thou ſhalt have given thy laſt farthing.'

"Then the poor man went away, and ſold his cloak and his gown, and all that he had, and gave it to the cardinals, and to the doorkeepers, and to the chamberlains. But they ſaid, 'And what is this among ſo many?' And they caſt him out of the gates, and going out he wept bitterly, and was without conſolation. After him there came to the court a certain clerk who was rich, and groſs, and fat, and large, and who in a tumult had committed manſlaughter. He gave firſt to the doorkeeper, ſecondly to the chamberlain, third to the cardinals. But they judged among themſelves, that they were to receive more. Then the lord the pope, hearing that the cardinals and officials had received many gifts from the clerk, became ſick unto death. But the rich man ſent him an electuary of gold and ſilver, and he was immediately made whole. Then the lord the pope called before him the cardinals and officials, and ſaid to them: 'Brethren, ſee that no one deceive you with empty words. For I give you an example, that, as I take, ſo take ye alſo.'"

This mediæval love of parody was not unfrequently diſplayed in a more

more popular form, and in the language of the people. In the *Reliquæ Antiquæ* (i. 82) we have a very ſingular parody in Engliſh on the ſermons of the Catholic prieſthood, a good part of which is ſo written as to preſent no conſecutive ſenſe, which circumſtance itſelf implies a ſneer at the preachers. Thus our burleſque preacher, in the middle of his diſcourſe, proceeds to narrate as follows (I moderniſe the Engliſh):—

"Sirs, what time that God and St. Peter came to Rome, Peter asked Adam a full great doubtful question, and said, "Adam, Adam, why ate thou the apple unpared?' 'Forsooth,' quod he, 'for I had no wardens (pears) fried.' And Peter saw the fire, and dread him, and stepped into a plum-tree that hanged full of ripe red cherries. And there he saw all the parrots in the sea. There he saw steeds and stockfish pricking 'swose' (?) in the water. There he saw hens and herrings that hunted after harts in hedges. There he saw eels roasting larks. There he saw haddocks were done on the pillory for wrong roasting of May butter; and there he saw how bakers baked butter to grease with old monks' boots. There he saw how the fox preached," &c.

The ſame volume contains ſome rather clever parodies on the old Engliſh alliterative romances, compoſed in a ſimilar ſtyle of conſecutive nonſenſe. It is a claſs of parody which we trace to a rather early period, which the French term a *coq-à-l'âne*, and which became faſhionable in England in the ſeventeenth century in the form of ſongs entitled "Tom-a-Bedlams." M. Jubinal has printed two ſuch poems in French, perhaps of the thirteenth century,* and others are found ſcattered through the old manuſcripts. There is generally ſo much coarſeneſs in them that it is not eaſy to ſelect a portion for tranſlation, and in fact their point conſiſts in going on through the length of a poem of this kind without imparting a ſingle clear idea. Thus, in the ſecond of thoſe publiſhed by Jubinal, we are told how, "The ſhadow of an egg carried the new year upon the bottom of a pot; two old new combs made a ball to run the trot; when it came to paying the ſcot, I, who never move myſelf,

* "Achille Jubinal, Jongleurs et Trouvères." 8vo., Paris, 1835, p. 34; and "Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux," &c. 8vo., Paris, 1842. Vol. ii. p. 208. In the firſt inſtance M. Jubinal has given to this little poem the title *Reſveries*, in the ſecond, *Fatraſies*.

myself, cried out, without saying a word, 'Take the feather of an ox, and clothe a wise fool with it.'"—

Li ombres d'un oef
Portoit l'an rencuf
Sur la fonz d'un pot;
Deus viez pinges neuf
Firent un estuef
Pour courre le trot;
Quant vint au paier l'escot,
Je, qui ongues ne me muef,
M escriai, si ne dis mot:—
'Prenés la plume d'un buef,
S'en vestez un sage sot.'—Jubinal, Nouv. Rec., ii. 217.

The spirit of the goliards continued to exist long after the name had been forgotten; and the mass of bitter satire which they had left behind them against the whole papal system, and against the corruptions of the papal church of the middle ages, were a perfect godsend to the reformers of the sixteenth century, who could point to them triumphantly as irresistible evidence in their favour. Such scholars as Flacius Illyricus, eagerly examined the manuscripts which contained this goliardic poetry, and printed it, chiefly as good and effective weapons in the great religious strife which was then convulsing European society. To us, besides their interest as literary compositions, they have also a historical value, for they introduce us to a more intimate acquaintance with the character of the great mental struggle for emancipation from mediæval darkness which extended especially through the thirteenth century, and which was only overcome for a while to begin more strongly and more successfully at a later period. They display to us the gross ignorance, as well as the corruption of manners, of the great mass of the mediæval clergy. Nothing can be more amusing than the satire which some of these pieces throw on the character of monkish Latin. I printed in the "Reliquæ Antiquæ," under the title of "The Abbot of Gloucester's Feast," a complaint supposed to issue from the mouth of one of the common herd of the monks, against the selfishness of their superiors, in which all the rules of Latin grammar are entirely set at defiance. The abbot and prior of Gloucester, with their whole convent, are invited to a feast, and on their

their arrival, "the abbot," ſays the complainant, "goes to ſit at the top, and the prior next to him, but I ſtood always in the back place among the low people."

Abbas ire ſede ſurſum,
Et prioris juxta ipſum ;
Ego ſemper ſtavi dorſum
inter raſcalilia.

The wine was ſerved liberally to the prior and the abbot, but "nothing was give to us poor folks—everything was for the rich."

Vinum venit ſanguinatis
Ad prioris et abbatis ;
Nihil nobis paupertatis,
ſed ad dives omnia.

When ſome diſſatisfaction was diſplayed by the poor monks, which the great men treated with contempt, "ſaid the prior to the abbot, 'They have wine enough; will you give all our drink to the poor? What does their poverty regard us? they have little, and that is enough, ſince they came uninvited to our feaſt.'"

Prior dixit ad abbatis,
'Ipſi habent vinum ſatis ;
Vultis dare paupertatis
noſter potus omnia ?
Quid nos ſpectat pauperta'is ?
Poſtquam venit non vocatis
ad noſter convivia.'

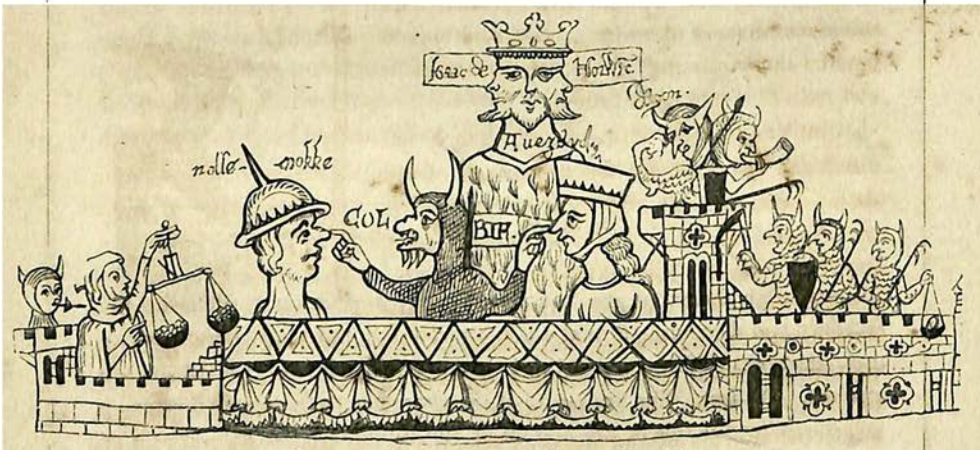
Thus through ſeveral pages this amuſing poem goes on to deſcribe the gluttony and drunkenneſs of the abbot and prior, and the ill-treatment of their inferiors. This compoſition belongs to the cloſe of the thirteenth century. A ſong very ſimilar to it in character, but much ſhorter, is found in a manuſcript of the middle of the fifteenth century, and printed with the other contents of this manuſcript in a little volume iſſued by the Percy Society.* The writer complains that the abbot and prior drunk good

* "Songs and Carols, now first printed from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century." Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. 8vo., London, 1847, p 2.

good and high-flavoured wine, while nothing but inferior ſtuff was uſually given to the convent; "But," he ſays, "it is better to go drink good wine at the tavern, where the wines are of the beſt quality, and money is the butler."

Bonum vinum cum ſapore
Bibit abbas cum priore;
Sed conventus de pejore
ſemper ſolet bibere.
Bonum vinum in taberna,
Ubi vina ſunt valarna (for Falerna),
Ubi nummus eſt pincerna,
Ibi prodeſt bibere.

Partly out of the earneſt, though playful, ſatire deſcribed in this chapter, aroſe political ſatire, and at a later period political caricature. I have before remarked that the period we call the middle ages was not that of political or perſonal caricature, becauſe it wanted that means of circulating



No. 111. *Caricature upon the Jews at Norwich.*

quickly and largely which is neceſſary for it. Yet, no doubt, men who could draw, did, in the middle ages, ſometimes amuſe themſelves in ſketching caricatures, which, in general, have periſhed, becauſe nobody cared to preſerve them; but the fact of the exiſtence of ſuch works is proved

proved by a very curious example, which has been preſerved, and which is copied in our cut No. 111. It is a caricature on the Jews of Norwich, which ſome one of the clerks of the king's courts in the thirteenth century has drawn with a pen, on one of the official rolls of the Pell office, where it has been preſerved. Norwich, as it is well known, was one of the principal ſeats of the Jews in England at this early period, and Iſaac of Norwich, the crowned Jew with three faces, who towers over the other figures, was no doubt ſome perſonage of great importance among them. Dagon, as a two-headed demon, occupies a tower, which a party of demon knights is attacking. Beneath the figure of Iſaac there is a lady, whoſe name appears to be Avezarden, who has ſome relation or other with a male figure named Nolle-Mokke, in which another demon, named Colbif, is interfering. As this latter name is written in capital letters, we may perhaps conclude that he is the moſt important perſonage in the ſcene; but, without any knowledge of the circumſtances to which it relates, it would be in vain to attempt to explain this curious and rather elaborate caricature.

No. 112. *An Iriſhman.*

Similar attempts at caricature, though leſs direct and elaborate, are found in others of our national records. One of theſe, pointed out to me by an excellent and reſpected friend, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, is peculiarly intereſting, as well as amuſing. It belongs to the Treaſury of the Exchequer, and conſiſts of two volumes of vellum called Liber A and Liber B, forming a regiſter of treaties, marriages, and ſimilar documents of the reign of Edward I., which have been very fully uſed by Rymer. The clerk who was employed in writing it, ſeems to have been, like many of theſe official clerks, ſomewhat of a wag, and he has amuſed himſelf by drawing in the margin figures of the inhabitants of the provinces of Edward's

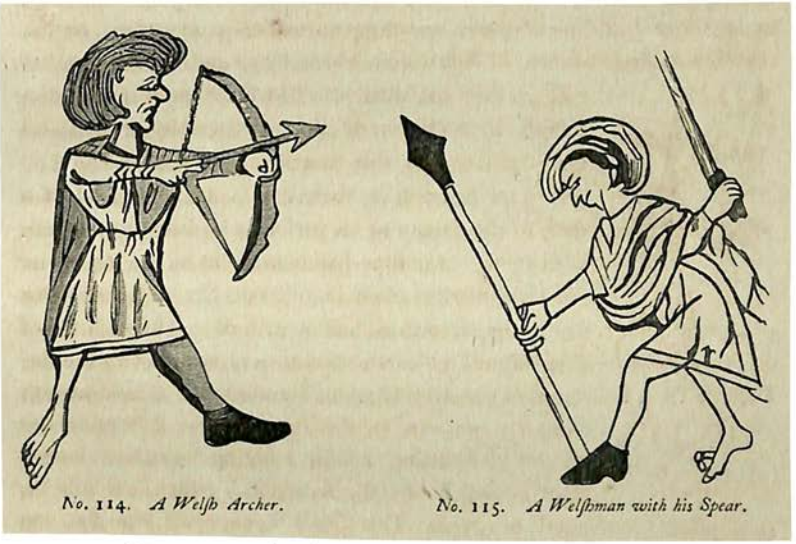
crown to which the documents referred. Some of theſe are evidently deſigned for caricature. Thus, the figure given in our cut No. 112 was intended to repreſent an Iriſhman. One trait, at leaſt, in this caricature is well known from the deſcription given by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who ſpeaks with a ſort of horror of the formidable axes which the Iriſh were accuſtomed to carry about with them. In treating of the manner in which Ireland ought to be governed when it had been entirely reduced to ſubjection, he recommends that, "in the meantime, they ought not to be allowed in time of peace, on any pretence or in any place, to uſe that deteſtable inſtrument of deſtruction, which, by an ancient but accurſed cuſtom, they conſtantly carry in their hands inſtead of a ſtaff." In a chapter of his "Topography of Ireland," Giraldus treats of this "ancient and wicked cuſtom" of always carrying in their hand an axe, inſtead of a ſtaff, to the danger of all perſons who had any relations with them. Another Iriſhman, from a drawing in the ſame manuſcript, given in our cut No. 113, carries his axe in the ſame threatening attitude. The coſtume of theſe figures anſwers with ſufficient accuracy to the deſcription given by Giraldus Cambrenſis. The drawings exhibit more exactly than that writer's deſcription the "ſmall cloſe-fitting hoods, hanging a cubit's length (half-a-yard) below the ſhoulders," which, he tells us, they were accuſtomed to wear. This ſmall hood, with the flat cap attached to it, is ſhown better perhaps in the ſecond figure than in the firſt. The "breeches and hoſe of one piece, or hoſe and breeches joined together," are alſo exhibited here very diſtinctly, and appear to be tied over the heel, but the feet are clearly naked, and evidently the uſe of the "brogues" was not yet general among the Iriſh of the thirteenth century.

No. 113 Another Iriſhman.

If the Welſhman of this period was ſomewhat more ſcantily clothed than the Iriſhman, he had the advantage of him, to judge by this manuſcript, in wearing at leaſt one ſhoe. Our cut No. 114, taken from it, repreſents a Welſhman armed with bow and arrow, whoſe clothing

conſiſts

conſiſts apparently only of a plain tunic and a light mantle. This is quite in accordance with the deſcription by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who tells us that in all ſeaſons their dreſs was the ſame, and that, however ſevere the weather, "they defended themſelves from the cold only by a thin cloak and tunic." Giraldus ſays nothing of the practice of the Welſh in wearing but one ſhoe, yet it is evident that at the time of this record that was their practice, for in another figure of a Welſhman, given



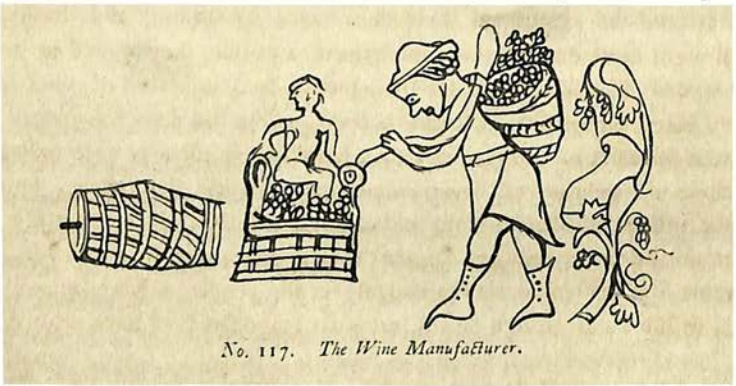
No. 114. *A Welſh Archer.* *No.* 115. *A Welſhman with his Spear.*

in our cut No. 115, we ſee the ſame peculiarity, and in both caſes the ſhoe is worn on the left foot. Giraldus merely ſays that the Welſhmen in general, when engaged in warfare, "either walked bare-footed, or made uſe of high ſhoes, roughly made of untanned leather." He deſcribes them as armed ſometimes with bows and arrows, and ſometimes with long ſpears; and accordingly our firſt example of a Welſhman from this manuſcript is uſing the bow, while the ſecond carries the ſpear, which he apparently reſts on the ſingle ſhoe of his left foot, while he brandiſhes a ſword in his left hand. Both our Welſhmen preſent a ſingularly groteſque appearance.

The

The Gaſcon is repreſented with more peaceful attributes. Gaſcony was the country of vineyards, from whence we drew our great ſupply of wines, a very important article of conſumption in the middle ages. When the official clerk who wrote this manuſcript came to documents relating to Gaſcony, his thoughts wandered naturally enough to its rich vineyards and the wine they ſupplied ſo plentifully, and to which, according to old reports, clerks ſeldom ſhowed any diſlike, and accordingly, in the ſketch, which we copy in our cut No. 116, we have a Gaſcon occupied diligently in pruning his vine-tree. He, at leaſt, wears two ſhoes, though his clothing is of the lighteſt deſcription. He is perhaps the *vinitor* of the mediæval documents on this ſubject, a ſerf attached to the vineyard. Our ſecond ſketch, cut No. 117, preſents a more enlarged ſcene, and introduces us to the whole proceſs of making wine. Firſt we ſee a man better clothed, with ſhoes (or boots) of much ſuperior

No. 116. *A Gaſcon at his Vine.*



No. 117. *The Wine Manufacturer.*

make, and a hat on his head, carrying away the grapes from the vineyard to the place where another man, with no clothing at all, is treading out the juice in a large vat. This is ſtill in ſome of the wine countries the

the common method of extracting the juice from the grape. Further to the left is the large cask in which the juice is put when turned into wine.

Satires on the people of particular localities were not uncommon during the middle ages, because local rivalries and consequent local feuds prevailed everywhere. The records of such feuds were naturally of a temporary character, and perished when the feuds and rivalries themselves ceased to exist, but a few curious satires of this kind have been preserved. A monk of Peterborough, who lived late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century, and for some reason or other nourished an unfriendly feeling to the people of Norfolk, gave vent to his hostility in a short Latin poem in what we may call goliardic verse. He begins by abusing the county itself, which, he says, was as bad and unfruitful as its inhabitants were vile; and he suggests that the evil one, when he fled from the anger of the Almighty, had passed through it and left his pollution upon it. Among other anecdotes of the simplicity and folly of the people of this county, which closely resemble the stories of the wise men of Gotham of a later date, he informs us that one day the peasantry of one district were so grieved by the oppressions of their feudal lord, that they subscribed together and bought their freedom, which he secured to them by formal deed, ratified with a ponderous seal. They adjourned to the tavern, and celebrated their deliverance by feasting and drinking, until night came on, and then, for want of a candle, they agreed to burn the wax of the seal. Next day their former lord, informed of what had taken place, brought them before a court, where the deed was judged to be void for want of the seal, and they lost all their money, were reduced to their old position of slavery, and treated worse than ever. Other stories, still more ridiculous, are told of these old Norfolkians, but few of them are worth repeating. Another monk, apparently, who calls himself John de St. Omer, took up the cudgels for the people of Norfolk, and replied to the Peterborough satirist in similar language.* I have printed in another

* Both these poems are printed in my "Early Mysteries, and other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." 8vo., London, 1838.

another collection,* a ſatirical poem againſt the people of a place called Stockton (perhaps Stockton-on-Tees in Durham), by the monk of a monaſtic houſe, of which they were ſerfs. It appeared that they had riſen againſt the tyranny of their lord, but had been unſucceſsful in defending their cauſe in a court of law, and the eccleſiaſtical ſatiriſt exults over their defeat in a very uncharitable tone. There will be found in the "Reliquæ Antiquæ,"† a very curious ſatire in Latin proſe directed againſt the inhabitants of Rocheſter, although it is in truth aimed againſt Engliſhmen in general, and is entitled in the manuſcript, which is of the fourteenth century, "Proprietates Anglicorum" (the Peculiarities of Engliſhmen). In the firſt place, we are told, that the people of Rocheſter had tails, and the queſtion is diſcuſſed, very ſcholaſtically, what ſpecies of animals theſe Roceſtrians were. We are then told that the cauſe of their deformity aroſe from the inſolent manner in which they treated St. Auguſtine, when he came to preach the Goſpel to the heathen Engliſh. After viſiting many parts of England, the ſaint came to Rocheſter, where the people, inſtead of liſtening to him, hooted at him through the ſtreets, and, in deriſion, attached tails of pigs and calves to his veſtments, and ſo turned him out of the city. The vengeance of Heaven came upon them, and all who inhabited the city and the country round it, and their deſcendants after them, were condemned to bear tails exactly like thoſe of pigs. This ſtory of the tails was not an invention of the author of the ſatire, but was a popular legend connected with the hiſtory of St. Auguſtine's preaching, though the ſcene of the legend was laid in Dorſetſhire. The writer of this ſingular compoſition goes on to deſcribe the people of Rocheſter as ſeducers of other people, as men without gratitude, and as traitors. He proceeds to ſhow that Rocheſter being ſituated in England, its vices had tainted the whole nation, and he illuſtrates the baſeneſs of the Engliſh character by a number of anecdotes of worſe than doubtful authenticity. It is, in fact, a ſatire on the Engliſh compoſed in France, and leads us into the domains of political ſatire.

Political

* "Anecdota Literaria," p. 49. † "Reliquæ Antiquæ," vol. ii. p. 230.

Political ſatire in the middle ages appeared chiefly in the form of poetry and ſong, and it was eſpecially in England that it flouriſhed, a ſure ſign that there was in our country a more advanced feeling of popular independence, and greater freedom of ſpeech, than in France or Germany.* M. Leroux de Lincy, who undertook to make a collection of this poetry for France, found ſo little during the mediæval period that came under the character of political, that he was obliged to ſubſtitute the word "hiſtorical" in the title of his book.† Where feudaliſm was ſupreme, indeed, the ſongs which aroſe out of private or public ſtrife, which then were almoſt inſeparable from ſociety, contained no political ſentiment, but conſiſted chiefly of perſonal attacks on the opponents of thoſe who employed them. Such are the four ſhort ſongs written in the time of the revolt of the French during the minority of St. Louis, which commenced in 1226; they are all of a political character which M. Leroux de Lincy has been able to collect previous to the year 1270, and they conſiſt merely of perſonal taunts againſt the courtiers by the diſſatisfied barons who were out of power. We trace a ſimilar feeling in ſome of the popular records of our baronial wars of the reign of Henry III., eſpecially in a ſong, in the baronial language (Anglo-Norman), preſerved in a ſmall roll of vellum, which appears to have belonged to the minſtrel who chanted it in the halls of the partiſans of Simon de Montfort. The fragment which remains conſiſts of ſtanzas in praiſe of the leaders of the popular party, and in reproach of their opponents. Thus of Roger de Clifford, one of earl Simon's friends, we are told that "the good Roger de Clifford behaved like a noble baron, and exerciſed great

* I have published from the original manuscripts the mass of the political poetry composed in England during the middle ages in my three volumes—"The Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II." 4to., London, 1839 (issued by the Camden Society); and "Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III." 8vo., vol i., London, 1859; vol. ii., 1861 (published by the Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.)

† "Receuil de Chants Historiques Français depuis le xii^e. jusqu'au xviii^e. Siècle, par Leroux de Lincy .... Première Série, xii^e., xiii^e., xiv^e., et xv^e., Siècles." 8vo., Paris, 1841.

great juſtice; he ſuffered none, either ſmall or great, or ſecretly or openly, to do any wrong."

Et de Cliffort ly bon Roger
Se contint cum noble ber,
Si fu de grant juſtice;
Ne ſuffri pas petit ne grant,
Ne arère ne par devant,
Fere nul meſpriſe.

On the other hand, one of Montfort's opponents, the biſhop of Hereford, is treated rather contemptuouſly. We are told that he "learnt well that the earl was ſtrong when he took the matter in hand; before that he (the biſhop) was very fierce, and thought to eat up all the Engliſh; but now he is reduced to ſtraits."

Ly eveſke de Herefort
Sout bien que ly quens fu fort,
Kant il priſt l'affère;
Devant ce eſteit mult fer,
Les Englais quida touz manger,
Mès ore ne ſet que fere.

This biſhop was Peter de Aigueblanche, one of the foreign favourites, who had been intruded into the ſee of Hereford, to the excluſion of a better man, and had been an oppreſſor of thoſe who were under his rule. The barons ſeized him, threw him into priſon, and plundered his poſſeſſions, and at the time this ſong was written, he was ſuffering under the impriſonment which appears to have ſhortened his life.

The univerſities and the clerical body in general were deeply involved in theſe political movements of the thirteenth century; and our earlieſt political ſongs now known are compoſed in Latin, and in that form and ſtyle of verſe which ſeems to have been peculiar to the goliards, and which I venture to call goliardic. Such is a ſong againſt the three biſhops who ſupported king John in his quarrel with the pope about the preſentation to the ſee of Canterbury, printed in my Political Songs. Such, too, is the ſong of the Welſh, and one or two others, in the ſame volume. And ſuch, above all, is that remarkable Latin poem in which a partiſan of

of the barons, immediately after the victory at Lewes, ſet forth the political tenets of his party, and gave the principles of Engliſh liberty nearly the ſame broad baſis on which they ſtand at the preſent. It is an evidence of the extent to which theſe principles were now acknowledged, that in this great baronial ſtruggle our political ſongs began to be written in the Engliſh language, an acknowledgment that they concerned the whole Engliſh public.

We trace little of this claſs of literature during the reign of Edward I.; but, when the popular feelings became turbulent again under the reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor, political ſongs became more abundant, and their ſatire was directed more even than formerly againſt meaſures and principles, and was leſs an inſtrument of mere perſonal abuſe. One ſatirical poem of this period, which I had printed from an imperfect copy in a manuſcript at Edinburgh, but of which a more complete copy was ſubſequently found in a manuſcript in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge,* is extremely curious as being the earlieſt ſatire of this kind written in Engliſh that we poſſeſs. It appears to have been written in the year 1320. The writer of this poem begins by telling us that his object is to explain the cauſe of the war, ruin, and manſlaughter which then prevailed throughout the land, and why the poor were ſuffering from hunger and want, the cattle periſhed in the field, and the corn was dear. Theſe he aſcribes to the increaſing wickedneſs of all orders of ſociety. To begin with the church, Rome was the head of all corruptions, at the papal court falſehood and treachery only reigned, and the door of the pope's palace was ſhut againſt truth. During the twelfth and following centuries theſe complaints, in terms more or leſs forcible, againſt the corruptions of Rome, are continually repeated, and ſhow that the evil muſt have been one under which everybody felt oppreſſed. The old charge of Romiſh ſimony is repeated in this poem in very ſtrong terms. "The clerk's voice ſhall be little heard at the court of Rome, were he ever ſo good, unleſs he

* "A Poem on the Times of Edward III., from a MS. preserved in the Library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge." Edited by the Rev. C. Hardwick. 8vo. London, 1849. (One of the publications of the Percy Society.)

he bring ſilver with him; though he were the holieſt man that ever was born, unleſs he bring gold or ſilver, all his time and anxiety are loſt. Alas! why love they ſo much that which is periſhable?"

Voys of clerk ſhall lytyl be heard at the court of Rome,
Were he never ſo gode a clerk, without ſilver and he come;
Though he were the holyſt man that ever yet was ibore,
But he bryng gold or ſylver, al hys while is forlore
And his thwght.
Allas! whi love thei that ſo much that ſchal turne to nowght?

When, on the contrary, a wicked man preſented himſelf at the pope's court, he had only to carry plenty of money thither, and all went well with him. According to our ſatiriſt, the biſhops were "fools," and the other dignitaries and officials of the church were influenced chiefly by the love of money and ſelf-indulgence. The parſon began humbly, when he firſt obtained his benefice, but no ſooner had he gathered money together, than he took "a wenche" to live with him as his wife, and rode a hunting with hawks and hounds like a gentleman. The prieſts were men with no learning, who preached by rote what they neither underſtood nor appreciated. "Truely," he ſays, "it fares by our unlearned prieſts as by a jay in a cage, who curſes himſelf: he ſpeaks good Engliſh, but he knows not what it means. No more does an unlearned prieſt know his goſpel that he reads daily. An unlearned prieſt, then, is no better than a jay."

Certes al ſo hyt fareth by a preſt that is lewed,
As by a jay in a cage that hymſelf hath beſhrewed:
Gode Englyſh he ſpeketh, but he not never what.
No more wot a lewed preſt hys goſpel wat he rat
By day.
Than is a lewed preſt no better than a jay.

Abbots and priors were remarkable chiefly for their pride and luxury, and the monks naturally followed their examples. Thus was religion debaſed everywhere. The character of the phyſician is treated with equal ſeverity, and his various tricks to obtain money are amuſingly deſcribed. In this manner the ſongſter preſents to view the failings of the various orders of lay ſociety alſo, the ſelfiſhneſs and oppreſſive bearing of the knights and

ariſtocracy

ariſtocracy, and their extravagance in dreſs and living, the neglect of juſtice, the ill-management of the wars, the weight of taxation, and all the other evils which then afflicted the ſtate. This poem marks a period in our ſocial hiſtory, and led the way to that larger work of the ſame character, which came about thirty years later, the well-known "Viſions of Piers Ploughman,"* one of the moſt remarkable ſatires, as well as one of the moſt remarkable poems, in the Engliſh language.

We will do no more than glance at the further progreſs of political ſatire which had now taken a permanent footing in Engliſh literature. We ſee leſs of it during the reign of Edward III., the greater part of which was occupied with foreign wars and triumphs, but there appeared towards the cloſe of his reign, a very remarkable ſatire, which I have printed in my "Political Poems and Songs." It is written in Latin, and conſiſts of a pretended prophecy in verſe by an inſpired monk named John of Bridlington, with a mock commentary in proſe—in fact, a parody on the commentaries in which the ſcholaſtics of that age diſplayed their learning, but in this caſe the commentary contains a bold though to us rather obſcure criticiſm on the whole policy of Edward's reign. The reign of Richard II. was convulſed by the great ſtruggle for religious reform, by the inſurrections of the lower orders, and by the ambition and feuds of the nobles, and produced a vaſt quantity of political and religious ſatire, both in proſe and verſe, but eſpecially the latter. We muſt not overlook our great poet Chaucer, as one of the powerful ſatiriſts of this period. Political ſong next makes itſelf heard loudly in the wars of the Roſes. It was the laſt ſtruggle of feudaliſm in England, and the character of the ſong had fallen back to its earlier characteriſtics, in which all patriotic feelings were abandoned to make place for perſonal hatred.

* "The Vision and the Creed of Piers Ploughman;" with Notes and a Glossary by Thomas Wright. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1842. Second and revised edition, 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1856.

CHAPTER XI.

MINSTRELSY A SUBJECT OF BURLESQUE AND CARICATURE.—CHARACTER OF THE MINSTRELS.—THEIR JOKES UPON THEMSELVES AND UPON ONE ANOTHER.—VARIOUS MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS REPRESENTED IN THE SCULPTURES OF THE MEDIÆVAL ARTISTS.—SIR MATTHEW GOURNAY AND THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—DISCREDIT OF THE TABOR AND BAG-PIPES.—MERMAIDS.

ONE of the principal claſſes of the ſatiriſts of the middle ages, the minſtrels, or jougleurs, were far from being unamenable to ſatire themſelves. They belonged generally to a low claſs of the population, one that was hardly acknowledged by the law, which merely adminiſtered to the pleaſures and amuſements of others, and, though ſometimes liberally rewarded, they were objects rather of contempt than of reſpect. Of courſe there were minſtrels belonging to a claſs more reſpectable than the others, but theſe were comparatively few; and the ordinary minſtrel ſeems to have been ſimply an unprincipled vagabond, who hardly poſſeſſed any ſettled reſting-place, who wandered about from place to place, and was not too nice as to the means by which he gained his living—perhaps fairly repreſented by the ſtreet minſtrel, or mountebank, of the preſent day. One of his talents was that of mocking and ridiculing others, and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, if he ſometimes became an object of mockery and ridicule himſelf. One of the well-known minſtrels of the thirteenth century, Rutebeuf, was, like many of his fellows, a poet alſo, and he has left ſeveral ſhort pieces of verſe deſcriptive of himſelf and of his own mode of life. In one of theſe he complains of his poverty, and tells us that the world had in his time—the reign of St. Louis—become ſo degenerate, that few people gave anything to the unfortunate minſtrel. According to his own account, he was without food,

food, and in a fair way towards ſtarvation, expoſed to the cold without ſufficient clothing, and with nothing but ſtraw for his bed.

Je touz de froit, de fain baaille,
Dont je ſuis mors et maubailliz,
Je ſuis ſanz coutes et ſans liz;
N'a ſi povre juſqu'à Senliz.
Sire, ſi ne ſai quel part aille;
Mes coſteiz connoit le pailliz,
Et liz de paille n'eſt pas liz,
Et en mon lit n'a fors la paille.—Œuvres de Rutebeuf, vol. i. p. 3.

In another poem, Rutebeuf laments that he has rendered his condition ſtill more miſerable by marrying, when he had not wherewith to keep a wife and family. In a third, he complains that in the midſt of his poverty, his wife has brought him a child to increaſe his domeſtic expenſes, while his horſe, on which he was accuſtomed to travel to places where he might exerciſe his profeſſion, had broken its leg, and his nurſe was dunning him for money. In addition to all theſe cauſes of grief, he had loſt the uſe of one of his eyes.

Or a d'enfant géu ma fame;
Mon cheval a briſié la jame
A une lice;
Or veut de l'argent ma norrice,
Qui m'en deſtraint et me pélice,
For l'enfant peſtre.

Throughout his complaint, although he laments over the decline of liberality among his contemporaries, he nevertheleſs turns his poverty into a joke. In ſeveral other pieces of verſe he ſpeaks in the ſame way, half joking and half lamenting over his condition, and he does not conceal that the love of gambling was one of the cauſes of it. "The dice," he ſays, "have ſtripped me entirely of my robe; the dice watch and ſpy me; it is theſe which kill me; they aſſault and ruin me, to my grief."

Li dé que li détier ont fet,
M'ont de ma robe tout deſfet;
Li dé m'ocient.
Li dé m'aguetent et eſpient;
Li dé m'aſſaillent et deffient,
Ce poiſe moi.—Ib., vol. i. p. 27.

And

And elſewhere he intimates that what the minſtrels ſometimes gained from the laviſh generoſity of their hearers, ſoon paſſed away at the tavern in dice and drinking.

One of Rutebeuf's contemporaries in the ſame profeſſion, Colin Muſet, indulges in ſimilar complaints, and ſpeaks bitterly of the want of generoſity diſplayed by the great barons of his time. In addreſſing one of them who had treated him ungenerouſly, he ſays, "Sir Count, I have fiddled before you in your hoſtel, and you neither gave me a gift, nor paid me my wages. It is diſcreditable behaviour. By the duty I owe to St. Mary, I cannot continue in your ſervice at this rate. My purſe is ill furniſhed, and my wallet is empty."

Sire quens, j'ai vielé
Devant vos en voſtre oſtel ;
Si ne m'avez riens donné,
Ne mes gages acquitez,
C'eſt vilanie.
Foi que doi ſainte Marie,
Enſi ne vos ſieurré-je mie.
M'aumoſnière eſt mal garnie,
Et ma male mal farſie.

He proceeds to ſtate that when he went home to his wife (for Colin Muſet alſo was a married minſtrel), he was ill received if his purſe and wallet were empty ; but it was very different when they were full. His wife then ſprang forward and threw her arms round his neck ; ſhe took his wallet from his horſe with alacrity, while his lad conducted the animal cheerfully to the ſtable, and his maiden killed a couple of capons, and prepared them with piquant ſauce. His daughter brought a comb for his hair. "Then," he exclaims, "I am maſter in my own houſe."

Ma fame va deſtroſer
Ma male ſans demorer ;
Mon garçon va abuvrer
Mon cheval et conreer ;
Ma pucele va tuer
Deux chapons por deporter
A la ſauſe aillie.
Ma fille m'aporte un pigne
En ſa main par cortoiſie.
Lors ſui de mon oſtel ſire.

When

When the minſtrels could thus joke upon themſelves, we need not be ſurpriſed if they ſatiriſed one another. In a poem of the thirteenth century, entitled "Les deux Troveors Ribauz," two minſtrels are introduced on the ſtage abuſing and inſulting one another, and while indulging in mutual accuſations of ignorance in their art, they diſplay their ignorance at the ſame time by miſquoting the titles of the poems which they profeſs to be able to recite. One of them boaſts of the variety of inſtruments on which he could perform :—

Je ſuis jugleres de viele,
Si ſai de muſe et de freſtele,
Et de harpes et de chifonie,
De la gigue, de l'armonie,
De l'ſalteire, et en la rote
Sai-ge bien chanter une note.

It appears, however, that among all theſe inſtruments, the viol, or fiddle, was the one moſt generally in uſe.

The mediæval monuments of art abound with burleſques and ſatires on the minſtrels, whoſe inſtruments of muſic are placed in the hands ſometimes of monſters, and at others in thoſe of animals of a not very refined character. Our cut No. 118 is taken from a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (MS. Cotton, Domitian A. ii.), and repreſents a female minſtrel playing on the fiddle; ſhe has the upper part of a lady, and the lower parts of a mare, a combination which appears to have been rather familiar to the imagination of the mediæval artiſts. In our cut No. 119, which is taken from a copy made by Carter of one of the miſereres in Ely Cathedral, it is not quite clear whether the performer on the fiddle be a monſter or merely a cripple; but perhaps the latter was intended. The inſtrument, too, aſſumes a rather ſingular form. Our cut No 120, alſo taken from Carter, was furniſhed by a ſculpture in the church of St. John, at Cirenceſter, and repreſents a man performing on an inſtrument rather cloſely reſembling the modern hurdy-gurdy, which is evidently played by turning

No. 118. A Charming Fiddler.

turning a handle, and the muſic is produced by ſtriking wires or ſtrings

No. 119. *A Criſpled Minſtrel.*

in ſide. The face is evidently intended to be that of a jovial companion.

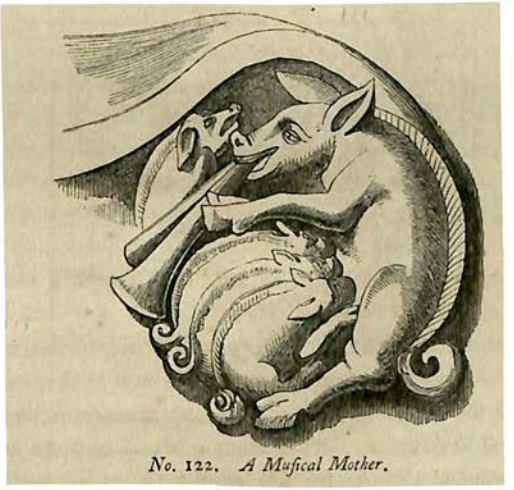
No. 120. *The Hurdy-Gurdy.*

Gluttony was an eſpecial characteriſtic of that claſs of ſociety to which the

the minſtrel belonged, and perhaps this was the idea intended to be con-

No. 121. *A Swiniſh Minſtrel.*

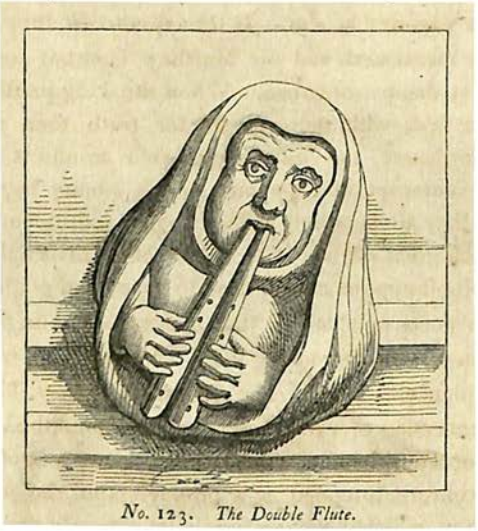
veyed in the next picture, No. 121, taken from one of the ſtalls in Win-



No. 122. *A Muſical Mother.*

cheſter Cathedral, in which a pig is performing on the fiddle, and appears

to be accompanied by a juvenile of the ſame ſpecies of animal. One of the ſame ſtalls, copied in our cut No. 122, repreſents a ſow performing on another ſort of muſical inſtrument, which is not at all uncommon in mediæval delineations. It is the double pipe or flute, which was evidently borrowed from the ancients. Minſtrelſy was the uſual accompaniment of the mediæval meal, and perhaps this picture is intended to be a burleſque on that circumſtance, as the mother is playing to her brood while they are feeding. They all ſeem to liſten quietly, except one, who is evidently much more affected by the muſic than his companions. The ſame inſtrument is placed in the hands of a rather jolly-looking female in



No. 123. *The Double Flute.*

one of the ſculptures of St. John's Church in Cirenceſter, copied in our cut No. 123.

Although this inſtrument is rather frequently repreſented in mediæval works of art, we have no account of or alluſion to it in mediæval writers; and perhaps it was not held in very high eſtimation, and was uſed only by a low claſs of performers. As in many other things, the employment of particular muſical inſtruments was guided, no doubt, by faſhion, new ones coming in as old ones went out. Such was the caſe with the inſtrument

inſtrument which is named in one of the above extracts, and in ſome other mediæval writers, a *chiffonie*, and which has been ſuppoſed to be the dulcimer, that had fallen into diſcredit in the fourteenth century. This inſtrument is introduced in a ſtory which is found in Cuvelier's metrical hiſtory of the celebrated warrior Bertrand du Gueſclin. In the courſe of the war for the expulſion of Pedro the Cruel from the throne of Caſtile, an Engliſh knight, Sir Matthew Gournay, was ſent as a ſpecial ambaſſador to the court of Portugal. The Portugueſe monarch had in his ſervice two minſtrels whoſe performances he vaunted greatly, and on whom he ſet great ſtore, and he inſiſted on their performing in the preſence of the new ambaſſador. It turned out that they played on the inſtrument juſt mentioned, and Sir Matthew Gournay could not refrain from laughing at the performance. When the king preſſed him to give his opinion, he ſaid, with more regard for truth than politeneſs, "In France and Normandy, the inſtruments your minſtrels play upon are regarded with contempt, and are only in uſe among beggars and blind people, ſo that they are popularly called beggar's inſtruments." The king, we are told, took great offence at the bluntneſs of his Engliſh gueſt.

The fiddle itſelf appears at this time to have been gradually ſinking in credit, and the poets complained that a degraded taſte for more vulgar muſical inſtruments was introducing itſelf. Among theſe we may mention eſpecially the pipe and tabor. The French antiquary, M. Jubinal, in a very valuable collection of early popular poetry, publiſhed under the title of "Jongleurs et Trouvères," has printed a curious poem of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, intended as a proteſt againſt the uſe of the tabor and the bagpipes, which he characteriſes as properly the muſical inſtruments of the peaſantry. Yet people then, he ſays, were becoming ſo beſotted on ſuch inſtruments, that they introduced them in places where better minſtrelſy would be more ſuitable. The writer thinks that the introduction of ſo vulgar an inſtrument as the tabor into grand feſtivals could be looked upon in no other light than as one of the ſigns which might be expected to be the precurſors of the coming of Antichriſt. "If ſuch people are to come to grand feſtivals as carry a buſhel [*i.e.* a tabor made in the form of a buſhel meaſure, on the end of which they beat], and

and make ſuch a terrible noiſe, it would ſeem that Antichriſt muſt now be being born; people ought to break the head of each of them with a ſtaff."

Déuſſent itiels genz venir à bele feſte
Qui portent un boiſſel, qui mainent tel tempeſte,
Il ſamble que Antecriſt doie maintenant neſtre;
L'en duroit d'un baſton chaſcun briſier la teſte.

This ſatiriſt adds, as a proof of the contempt in which the Virgin Mary held ſuch inſtruments, that ſhe never loved a tabor, or conſented to hear one, and that no tabor was introduced among the minſtrelſy at her

No. 124. *The Tabor, or Drum.*

eſpouſals. "The gentle mother of God," he ſays, "loved the ſound of the fiddle," and he goes on to prove her partiality for that inſtrument by citing ſome of her miracles.

Onques le mère Dieu, qui eſt virge honorée,
Et eſt avoec les angles hautement coronée,
N'ama onques tabour, ne point ne li agrée,
N'onques tabour n'i ot quant el ſu eſpouſée.
La douce mère Dieu ama ſon de viele.

The

The artiſt who carved the curious ſtalls in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Weſtminſter, ſeems to have entered fully into the ſpirit diſplayed by this ſatiriſt, for in one of them, repreſented in our cut No. 124, he has introduced a maſked demon playing on the tabor, with an expreſſion apparently of deriſion. This tabor preſents much the form of a buſhel meaſure, or rather, perhaps, of a modern drum. It may be remarked that the drum is, in fact, the ſame inſtrument as the tabor, or, at leaſt, is derived from it, and they were called by the ſame names, *tabor* or *tambour*. The Engliſh name *drum*, which has equivalents in the later forms of the Teutonic dialects, perhaps means ſimply ſomething which makes a noiſe, and is not, as far as I know, met with before the ſixteenth century. Another carving of the ſame ſeries of ſtalls at Weſtminſter, copied in our cut No. 125, repreſents a tame bear playing on the

No. 125. *Bruin turned Piper.*

bagpipes. This is perhaps intended to be at the ſame time a ſatire on the inſtrument itſelf, and upon the ſtrange exhibitions of animals domeſticated and taught various ſingular performances, which were then ſo popular.

In

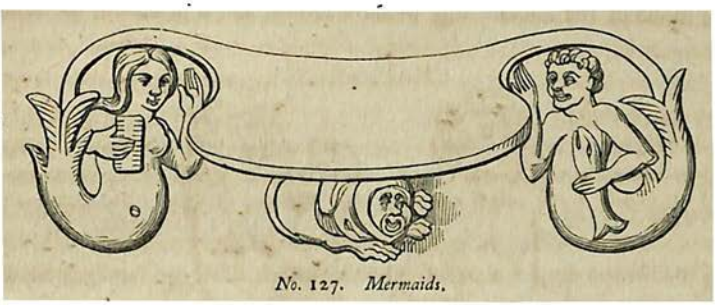
In our cut No. 126 we come to the fiddle again, which long ſuſtained its place in the higheſt rank of muſical inſtruments. It is taken from one of the ſculptures on the porch of the principal entrance to the Cathedral of Lyons in France, and repreſents a mermaid with her child, liſtening to the muſic of the fiddle. She wears a crown, and is intended, no doubt,

No. 126. *Royal Minſtrelſy.*

to be one of the queens of the ſea, and the introduction of the fiddle under ſuch circumſtances can leave no doubt how highly it was eſteemed.

The mermaid is a creature of the imagination, which appears to have been at all times a favourite object of poetry and legend. It holds an important place in the mediæval beſtiaries, or popular treatiſes on natural hiſtory, and it has only been expelled from the domains of ſcience at a comparatively recent date. It ſtill retains its place in popular legends of our ſea-coaſts, and more eſpecially in the remoter parts of our iſlands. The ſtories of the merrow, or Iriſh fairy, hold a prominent place among my late friend Crofton Croker's "Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland." The mermaid is alſo introduced not unfrequently in mediæval ſculpture

ſculpture and carving. Our cut No. 127, repreſenting a mermaid and a merman, is copied from one of the ſtalls of Wincheſter Cathedral. The uſual attributes of the mermaid are a looking-glaſs and comb, by the aid of which ſhe is dreſſing her hair; but here ſhe holds the comb alone.



No. 127. *Mermaids.*

Her companion, the male, holds a fiſh, which he appears to have juſt caught, in his hand.

While, after the fifteenth century the profeſſion of the minſtrel became entirely degraded, and he was looked upon more than ever as a rogue and vagabond, the fiddle accompanied him, and it long remained, as it ſtill remains in Ireland, the favourite inſtrument of the peaſantry. The blind fiddler, even at the preſent day, is not unknown in our rural diſtricts. It has always been in England the favourite inſtrument of minſtrelſy.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COURT FOOL.—THE NORMANS AND THEIR GABS.—EARLY HISTORY OF COURT FOOLS.—THEIR COSTUME.—CARVINGS IN THE CORNISH CHURCHES.—THE BURLESQUE SOCIETIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—THE FEASTS OF ASSES, AND OF FOOLS.—THEIR LICENCE.—THE LEADEN MONEY OF THE FOOLS.—THE BISHOP'S BLESSING.

FROM the employment of minſtrels attached to the family, probably aroſe another and well-known character of later times, the court fool, who took the place of ſatiriſt in the great houſeholds. I do not conſider what we underſtand by the court fool to be a character of any great antiquity.

It is ſomewhat doubtful whether what we call a jeſt, was really appreciated in the middle ages. Puns ſeem to have been conſidered as elegant figures of ſpeech in literary compoſition, and we rarely meet with anything like a quick and clever repartee. In the earlier ages, when a party of warriors would be merry, their mirth appears to have conſiſted uſually in ridiculous boaſts, or in rude remarks, or in ſneers at enemies or opponents. Theſe jeſts were termed by the French and Normans *gabs* (*gabæ*, in mediæval Latin), a word ſuppoſed to have been derived from the claſſical Latin word *cavilla*, a mock or taunt; and a ſhort poem in Anglo-Norman has been preſerved which furniſhes a curious illuſtration of the meaning attached to it in the twelfth century. This poem relates how Charlemagne, piqued by the taunts of his empreſs on the ſuperiority of Hugh the Great, emperor of Conſtantinople, went to Conſtantinople, accompanied by his *douze pairs* and a thouſand knights, to verify the truth of his wife's ſtory. They proceeded firſt to Jeruſalem, where, when Charlemagne and his twelve peers entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they looked ſo handſome and majeſtic, that they were taken at firſt for Chriſt

Chriſt and his twelve apoſtles, but the myſtery was ſoon cleared up, and they were treated by the patriarch with great hoſpitality during four months. They then continued their progreſs till they reached Conſtantinople, where they were equally well received by the the emperor Hugo. At night the emperor placed his gueſts in a chamber furniſhed with thirteen ſplendid beds, one in the middle of the room, and the other twelve diſtributed around it, and illuminated by a large carbuncle, which gave a light as bright as that of day. When Hugh left them in their quarters for the night, he ſent them wine and whatever was neceſſary to make them comfortable; and, when alone, they proceeded to amuſe themſelves with *gabs*, or jokes, each being expected to ſay his joke in his turn. Charlemagne took the lead, and boaſted that if the emperor Hugh would place before him his ſtrongeſt "bachelor," in full armour, and mounted on his good ſteed, he would, with one blow of his ſword, cut him through from the head downwards, and through the ſaddle and horſe, and that the ſword ſhould, after all this, ſink into the ground to the handle. Charlemagne then called upon Roland for his *gab*, who boaſted that his breath was ſo ſtrong, that if the emperor Hugh would lend him his horn, he would take it out into the fields and blow it with ſuch force, that the wind and noiſe of it would ſhake down the whole city of Conſtantinople. Oliver, whoſe turn came next, boaſted of exploits of another deſcription if he were left alone with the beautiful princeſs, Hugh's daughter. The reſt of the peers indulged in ſimilar boaſts, and when the *gabs* had gone round, they went to ſleep. Now the emperor of Conſtantinople had very cunningly, and rather treacherouſly, made a hole through the wall, by which all that paſſed inſide could be ſeen and heard, and he had placed a ſpy on the outſide, who gave a full account of the converſation of the diſtinguiſhed gueſts to his imperial maſter. Next morning Hugh called his gueſts before him, told them what he had heard by his ſpy, and declared that each of them ſhould perform his boaſt, or, if he failed, be put to death. Charlemagne expoſtulated, and repreſented that it was the cuſtom in France when people retired for the night to amuſe themſelves in that manner. "Such is the cuſtom in France," he ſaid, "at Paris, and at Chartres, when the French are in bed they

amuſe themſelves and make jokes, and ſay things both of wiſdom and of folly."

Si eſt tel cuſtume en France, à Paris e à Cartres,
Quand Franceis ſunt culchiez, que ſe giuunt e gabent,
E ſi dient ambure e ſaver e ſolage.

But Charlemagne expoſtulated in vain, and they were only ſaved from the conſequence of their imprudence by the intervention of ſo many miracles from above.*

In ſuch trials of ſkill as this, an individual muſt continually have ariſen who excelled in ſome at leaſt of the qualities needful for raiſing mirth and making him a good companion, by ſhowing himſelf more brilliant in wit, or more biting in ſarcaſms, or more impudent in his jokes, and he would thus become the favourite mirth-maker of the court, the boon companion of the chieftain and his followers in their hours of relaxation. We find ſuch an individual not unuſually introduced in the early romances and in the mythology of nations, and he ſometimes unites the character of court orator with the other. Such a perſonage was the Sir Kay of the cycle of the romances of king Arthur. I have remarked in a former chapter that Hunferth, in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, is deſcribed as holding a ſomewhat ſimilar poſition at the court of king Hrothgar. To go farther back in the mythology of our forefathers, the Loki of Scandinavian fable appears ſometimes to have performed a ſimilar character in the aſſembly of his fellow deities; and we know that, among the Greeks, Homer on one occaſion introduces Vulcan acting the part of joker (γελωτοποιὸς) to the gods of Olympus. But all theſe have no relationſhip whatever to the court-fool of modern times.

The German writer Flögel, in his "Hiſtory of Court Fools,"† has thrown this ſubject into much confuſion by introducing a great maſs of irrelevant matter; and thoſe who have ſince compiled from Flögel, have made the confuſion ſtill greater. Much of this confuſion has ariſen from the

* "Charlemagne, an Anglo-Norman Poem of the Twelfth Century, now first published, by Francisque Michel," 12mo., 8vo., London, 1836.

† "Geschichte der Hofnarren, von Karl Friedrich Flögel," 8vo. Liegnitz und Leipzig, 1789.

the miſunderſtanding and confounding of names and terms. The mimus, the joculator, the miniſtrel, or whatever name this claſs of ſociety went by, was not in any reſpects identical with what we underſtand by a court fool, nor does any ſuch character as the latter appear in the feudal houſehold before the fourteenth century, as far as we are acquainted with the ſocial manners and cuſtoms of the olden time. The vaſt extent of the early French *romans de geſte*, or Carlovingian romances, which are filled with pictures of courts both of princes and barons, in which the court fool muſt have been introduced had he been known at the time they were compoſed, that is, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, contains, I believe, no trace of ſuch perſonage; and the ſame may be ſaid of the numerous other romances, fabliaux, and in fact all the literature of that period, one ſo rich in works illuſtrative of contemporary manners in their moſt minute detail. From theſe facts I conclude that the ſingle brief charter publiſhed by M. Rigollot from a manuſcript in the Imperial Library in Paris, is either miſunderſtood or it preſents a very exceptional caſe. By this charter, John, king of England, grants to his *follus*, William Picol, or Piculph (as he is called at the cloſe of the document), an eſtate in Normandy named in the document Fons Oſſanæ (Menil-Ozenne in Mortain), with all its appurtenances, "to have and to hold, to him and to his heirs, by doing there-for to us once a year the ſervice of one *follus*, as long as he lives; and after his death his heirs ſhall hold it of us, by the ſervice of one pair of gilt ſpurs to be rendered annually to us." * The ſervice (*ſervitium*) here enjoined means the annual payment of the obligation of the feudal tenure, and therefore

* The words of this charter, as given by Rigollot, are :—"Joannes, D. G., etc. Sciatis nos dediſſe et præſenti charta confirmaſſe Willelmo Picol, follo noſtro, Fontem Oſſanæ, cum omnibus pertinenciis ſuis, habendum et tenendum ſibi et hæredibus ſuis, faciendo inde nobis annuatim ſervitium unius folli quoad vixerit; et poſt ejus deceſſum hæredes ſui eam tenebunt, et per ſervitium unius paris calcarium deauratorum nobis annuatim reddendo. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod prædictus Piculphus et hæredes ſui habeant et teneant in perpetuum, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, prædictam terram."—Rigollot, Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens, etc., 8vo., Paris, 1837.

therefore if *follus* is to be taken as ſignifying "a fool," it only means that Picol was to perform that character on one occaſion in the courſe of the year. In this caſe, he may have been ſome fool whom king John had taken into his ſpecial favour; but it certainly is no proof that the practice of keeping court fools then exiſted. It is not improbable that this practice was firſt introduced in Germany, for Flögel ſpeaks, though rather doubtfully, of one who was kept at the court of the emperor Rudolph I. (of Hapſburg), whoſe reign laſted from 1273 to 1292. It is more certain, however, that the kings of France poſſeſſed court fools before the middle of the fourteenth century, and from this time anecdotes relating to them begin to be common. One of the earlieſt and moſt curious of theſe anecdotes, if it be true, relates to the celebrated victory of Sluys gained over the French fleet by our king Edward III. in the year 1340. It is ſaid that no one dared to announce this diſaſter to the French king, Philippe VI., until a court fool undertook the taſk. Entering the king's chamber, he continued muttering to himſelf, but loud enough to be heard, "Thoſe cowardly Engliſh! the chicken-hearted Britons!" "How ſo, couſin?" the king inquired. "Why," replied the fool, "becauſe they have not courage enough to jump into the ſea, like your French ſoldiers, who went over headlong from their ſhips, leaving thoſe to the enemy who ſhowed no inclination to follow them." Philippe thus became aware of the full extent of his calamity. The inſtitution of the court fool was carried to its greateſt degree of perfection during the fifteenth century; it only expired in the age of Louis XIV.

It was apparently with the court fool that the coſtume was introduced which has ever ſince been conſidered as the characteriſtic mark of folly. Some parts of this coſtume, at leaſt, appear to have been borrowed from an earlier date. The *gelotopœi* of the Greeks, and the *mimi* and *moriones* of the Romans, ſhaved their heads; but the court fools perhaps adopted this faſhion as a ſatire upon the clergy and monks. Some writers profeſſed to doubt whether the fools borrowed from the monks, or the monks from the fools; and Cornelius Agrippa, in his treatiſe on the Vanity of Sciences, remarks that the monks had their heads "all ſhaven like fools" (*raſo toto capite ut fatui*). The cowl, alſo, was perhaps adopted

in

in deriſion of the monks, but it was diſtinguiſhed by the addition of a pair of aſſes' ears, or by a cock's head and comb, which formed its termination above, or by both. The court fool was alſo furniſhed with a ſtaff or club, which became eventually his bauble. The bells were another neceſſary article in the equipment of a court fool, perhaps alſo intended as a ſatire on the cuſtom of wearing ſmall bells in the dreſs, which pre-

No. 127. *Court Fools.*

vailed largely during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, eſpecially among people who were fond of childiſh oſtentation. The fool wore alſo a party-coloured, or motley, garment, probably with the ſame aim—that of ſatiriſing one of the ridiculous faſhions of the fourteenth century.

It is in the fifteenth century that we firſt meet with the fool in full coſtume

coſtume in the illuminations or manuſcripts, and towards the end of the century this coſtume appears continually in engravings. It is alſo met with at this time among the ſculptures of buildings and the carvings of wood-work. The two very intereſting examples given in our cut No. 127 are taken from carvings of the fifteenth century, in the church of St. Levan, in Cornwall, near the Land's End. They repreſent the court fool in two varieties of coſtume; in the firſt, the fool's cowl, or cap, ends in the cock's head; in the other, it is fitted with aſſes' ears. There are variations alſo in other parts of the dreſs; for the ſecond only has bells to his ſleeves, and the firſt carries a ſingularly formed ſtaff, which may

No 128. *A Fool and a Grimace-maker.*

perhaps be intended for a ſtrap or belt, with a buckle at the end; while the other has a ladle in his hand. As one poſſeſſes a beard, and preſents marks of age in his countenance, while the other is beardleſs and youthful, we may conſider the pair as an old fool and a young fool.

The Corniſh churches are rather celebrated for their early carved wood-work, chiefly of the fifteenth century, of which two examples are given in our cut, No. 128, taken from bench pannels in the church of St. Mullion, on the Corniſh coaſt, a little to the north of the Lizard

Lizard Point. The firſt has bells hanging to the ſleeves, and is no doubt intended to repreſent folly in ſome form; the other appears to be intended for the head of a woman making grimaces.*

The fool had long been a character among the people before he became a court fool, for Folly—or, as ſhe was then called, "Mother Folly"—was one of the favourite objects of popular worſhip in the middle ages, and, where that worſhip ſprang up ſpontaneouſly among the people, it grew with more energy, and preſented more hearty joyouſneſs and bolder ſatire than under the patronage of the great. Our forefathers in thoſe times were accuſtomed to form themſelves into aſſociations or ſocieties of a mirthful character, parodies of thoſe of a more ſerious deſcription, eſpecially eccleſiaſtical, and elected as their officers mock popes, cardinals, archbiſhops and biſhops, kings, &c. They held periodical feſtivals, riotous and licentious carnivals, which were admitted into the churches, and even taken under the eſpecial patronage of the clergy, under ſuch titles as "the feaſt of fools," "the feaſt of the aſs," "the feaſt of the innocents," and the like. There was hardly a Continental town of any account which had not its "company of fools," with its mock ordinances and mock ceremonies. In our own iſland we had our abbots of miſrule and of unreaſon. At their public feſtivals ſatirical ſongs were ſung and ſatirical maſks and dreſſes were worn; and in many of them, eſpecially at a later date, brief ſatirical dramas were acted. Theſe ſatires aſſumed much of the functions of modern caricature; the caricature of the pictorial repreſentations, which were moſtly permanent monuments and deſtined for future generations, was naturally general in its character, but in the repreſentations of which I am ſpeaking, which were temporary, and deſigned to excite the mirth of the moment, it became perſonal, and, often, even political, and it was conſtantly directed againſt the eccleſiaſtical order. The ſcandal of the day furniſhed it with abundant materials. A fragment of one of their ſongs

* For the drawings of these interesting carvings from the Cornish churches, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. T. Blight, the author of an extremely pleasing and useful guide to the beauties of a well-known district of Cornwall, entitled "A Week at the Land's End."

ſongs of an early date, ſung at one of theſe "feaſts" at Rouen, has been preſerved, and contains the following lines, written in Latin and French :—

De aſino bono noſtro,
Meliori et optimo,
Debemus faire fête.
En revenant *de Gravinaria,*
Un gros chardon *reperit in via,*
Il lui coupa la tête.

Vir monachus in menſe Julio
Egreſſus eſt e monaſterio,
C'est dom de la Bucaille ;
Egreſſus eſt ſine licentia,
Pour aller voir dona Veniſſia,
Et faire la ripaille.

TRANSLATION.

For our good aſs,
The better and the beſt,
We ought to rejoice.
In returning from Gravinière,
A great thiſtle he found in the way,
He cut off its head.

A monk in the month of July
Went out of his monaſtery,
It is dom de la Bucaille ;
He went out without licenſe,
To pay a viſit to the dame de Veniſſe,
And make ſovial cheer.

It appears that Dé la Bucaille was the prior of the abbey of St. Taurin, at Rouen, and that the dame de Veniſſe was prioreſs of St. Saviour, and theſe lines, no doubt, commemorate ſome great ſcandal of the day relating to the private relations between theſe two individuals.

Theſe mock religious ceremonies are ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Roman Saturnalia; they were evidently of great antiquity in the mediæval church, and were moſt prevalent in France and Italy. Under the name of "the feaſt of the ſub-deacons" they are forbidden by the acts of the council of Toledo, in 633 ; at a later period, the French punned on the word *ſous-diacres*, and called them *Saouls-diacres* (Drunken Deacons), words which had nearly the ſame ſound. The "feaſt of the aſs"

aſs" is ſaid to be traced back in France as far as the ninth century. It was celebrated in moſt of the great towns in that country, ſuch as Rouen, Sens, Douai, &c., and the ſervice for the occaſion is actually preſerved in ſome of the old-church books. From this it appears that the aſs was led in proceſſion to a place in the middle of the church, which had been decked out to receive it, and that the proceſſion was led by two clerks, who ſung a Latin ſong in praiſe of the animal. This ſong commences by telling us how "the aſs came from the eaſt, handſome and very ſtrong, and moſt fit for carrying burthens":—

Orientis partibus
Adventavit aſinus,
Pulcher et fortiſſimus,
Sarcinis aptiſſimus.

The refrain or burthen of the ſong is in French, and exhorts the animal to join in the uproar—"Eh! ſir aſs, chant now, fair mouth, bray, you ſhall have hay enough, and oats in abundance:"—

Hez, ſire aſnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche, rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin aſſez,
Et de l'avoine à plantez.

In this tone the chant continues through nine ſimilar ſtanzas, deſcribing the mode of life and food of the aſs. When the proceſſion reached the altar, the prieſt began a ſervice in proſe. Beleth, one of the celebrated doctors of the univerſity of Paris, who flouriſhed in 1182, ſpeaks of the "feaſt of fools" as in exiſtence in his time; and the acts of the council of Paris, held in 1212, forbid the preſence of archbiſhops and biſhops, and more eſpecially of monks and nuns, at the feaſts of fools, "in which a ſtaff was carried."* We know the proceedings of this latter feſtival rather minutely from the accounts given in the eccleſiaſtical cenſures. It

* "A feſtis follorum ubi baculus accipitur omnino abſtineatur. . . . . Idem fortius monachis et monialibus prohibemus."

It was in the cathedral churches that they elected the archbiſhop or biſhop of fools, whoſe election was confirmed, and he was conſecrated, with a multitude of buffooneries. He then entered upon his pontifical duties, wearing the mitre and carrying the croſier before the people, on whom he beſtowed his ſolemn benediction. In the exempt churches, or thoſe which depended immediately upon the Holy See, they elected a pope of fools (*unum papam fatuorum*), who wore ſimilarly the enſigns of the papacy. Theſe dignitaries were aſſiſted by an equally burleſque and licentious clergy, who uttered and performed a mixture of follies and impieties during the church ſervice of the day, which they attended in diſguiſes and maſquerade dreſſes. Some wore maſks, or had their faces painted, and others were dreſſed in women's clothing, or in ridiculous coſtumes. On entering the choir, they danced and ſang licentious ſongs. The deacons and ſub-deacons ate black puddings and ſauſages on the altar while the prieſt was celebrating; others played at cards or dice under his eyes; and others threw bits of old leather into the cenſer in order to raiſe a diſagreeable ſmell. After the maſs was ended, the people broke out into all ſorts of riotous behaviour in the church, leaping, dancing, and exhibiting themſelves in indecent poſtures, and ſome went as far as to ſtrip themſelves naked, and in this condition they were drawn through the ſtreets with tubs full of ordure and filth, which they threw about at the mob. Every now and then they halted, when they exhibited immodeſt poſtures and actions, accompanied with ſongs and ſpeeches of the ſame character. Many of the laity took part in the proceſſion, dreſſed as monks and nuns. Theſe diſorders ſeem to have been carried to their greateſt degree of extravagance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

Towards

* On the subject of all these burlesques and popular feasts and ceremonies, the reader may consult Flögel's "Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen," of which a new and enlarged edition has recently been given by Dr. Friedrich W. Ebeling, 8vo., Leipzig, 1862. Much interesting information on the subject was collected by Du Tilliot, in his "Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Fête des Fous," 8vo., Lausanne, 1751. See also Rigollot, in the work quoted above, and a popular article on the same subject will be found in my "Archæological Album."

Towards the fifteenth century, lay ſocieties, having apparently no connection with the clergy or the church, but of juſt the ſame burleſque character, aroſe in France. One of the earlieſt of theſe was formed by the clerks of the Bazoche, or lawyers' clerks of the Palais de Juſtice in Paris, whoſe preſident was a ſort of king of miſrule. The other principal ſociety of this kind in Paris took the rather mirthful name of *Enfans ſans Souci* (Careleſs Boys); it conſiſted of young men of education, who gave to their preſident or chieftain the title of *Prince des Sots* (the Prince of Fools). Both theſe ſocieties compoſed and performed farces, and other ſmall dramatic pieces. Theſe farces were ſatires on contemporary ſociety, and appear to have been often very perſonal.

Almoſt the only monuments of the older of theſe ſocieties conſiſt of coins, or tokens, ſtruck in lead, and ſometimes commemorating the names of their mock dignitaries. A conſiderable number of theſe have been found in France, and an account of them, with engravings, was publiſhed by Dr. Rigollot ſome years ago.* Our cut No. 129 will ſerve as an

No. 129. *Money of the Archbiſhop of the Innocents.*

example. It repreſents a leaden token of the Archbiſhop of the Innocents of the pariſh of St. Firmin, at Amiens, and is curious as bearing a date. On one ſide the archbiſhop of the Innocents is repreſented in the act of giving his bleſſing to his flock, ſurrounded by the inſcription, MONETA · ARCHIEPI · SCTI · FIRMINI. On the other ſide we have the name

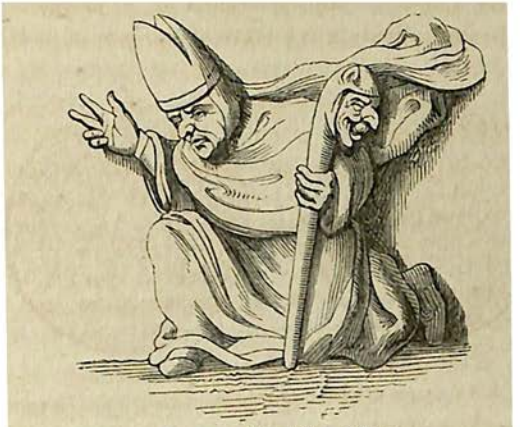
* "Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens, des Fous," &c., Paris, 1837.

name of the individual who that year held the office of archbiſhop, NICOLAYS · GAVDRAM · ARCHIEPVS · 1520, ſurrounding a group conſiſting of two men, one of whom is dreſſed as a fool, holding between them a bird, which has ſomewhat the appearance of a magpie. Our cut No. 130 is ſtill more curious; it is a token of the *pope* of fools. On one

No. 130. *Money of the Pope of Fools.*

ſide appears the pope with his tiara and double croſs, and a fool in full coſtume, who approaches his bauble to the pontifical croſs. It is certainly a bitter caricature on the papacy, whether that were the intention or not. Two perſons behind, dreſſed apparently in ſcholaſtic coſtume, ſeem to be merely ſpectators. The inſcription is, MONETA · NOVA · ADRIANI · STVLTORV [M] · PAPE (the laſt E being in the field of the piece), "new money of Adrian, the pope of fools." The inſcription on the other ſide of the token is one frequently repeated on theſe leaden medals, STVLTORV [M] · INFINITVS · EST · NVMERVS, "the number of fools is infinite." In the field we ſee Mother Folly holding up her bauble, and before her a groteſque figure in a cardinal's hat, apparently kneeling to her. It is rather ſurpriſing that we find ſo few alluſions to theſe burleſque ſocieties in the various claſſes of pictorial records from which the ſubject of theſe chapters has been illuſtrated; but we have evidence that they were not altogether overlooked. Until the latter end of the laſt century, the miſereres of the church of St. Spire, at Corbeil, near Paris, were remarkable for the ſingular carvings with which they were decorated, and which have ſince been deſtroyed, but fortunately they were engraved by Millin.

Millin. One of them, copied in our cut No. 131, evidently repreſents the biſhop of fools conferring his bleſſing; the fool's bauble occupies the place of the paſtoral ſtaff.



No. 131. *The Biſhop of Fools.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DANCE OF DEATH.—THE PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH OF LA CHAISE DIEU.—THE REIGN OF FOLLY.—SEBASTIAN BRANDT; THE "SHIP OF FOOLS."—DISTURBERS OF CHURCH SERVICE.—TROUBLESOME BEGGARS.—GEILER'S SERMONS.—BADIUS, AND HIS SHIP OF FOOLISH WOMEN.—THE PLEASURES OF SMELL.—ERASMUS; THE "PRAISE OF FOLLY."

THERE is ſtill one cycle of ſatire which almoſt belongs to the middle ages, though it only became developed at their cloſe, and became moſt popular after they were paſt. There exiſted, at leaſt as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, a legendary ſtory of an interview between three living and three dead men, which is uſually told in French verſe, and appears under the title of "Des trois vifs et des trois morts." According to ſome verſions of the legend, it was St. Macarius, the Egyptian recluſe, who thus introduced the living to the dead. The verſes are ſometimes accompanied with figures, and theſe have been found both ſculptured and painted on eccleſiaſtical buildings. At a later period, apparently early in the fifteenth century, ſome one extended this idea to all ranks of ſociety, and pictured a ſkeleton, the emblem of death, or even more than one, in communication with an individual of each claſs; and this extended ſcene, from the manner of the grouping—in which the dead appeared to be wildly dancing off with the living—became known as the "Dance of Death." As the earlier legend of the three dead and the three living was, however, ſtill often introduced at the beginning of it, the whole group was moſt generally known—eſpecially during the fifteenth century—as the "Danſe Macabre," or Dance

Dance of Macabre, this name being conſidered as a mere corruption of Macarius. The temper of the age—in which death in every form was conſtantly before the eyes of all, and in which people ſought to regard life as a mere tranſitory moment of enjoyment—gave to this grim idea of the fellowſhip of death and life great popularity, and it was not only painted on the walls of churches, but it was ſuſpended in tapeſtry around people's chambers. Sometimes they even attempted to repreſent it in maſquerade, and we are told that in the month of October, 1424, the "Danſe Macabre" was publicly danced by living people in the cemetery of the Innocents, in Paris—a fit place for ſo lugubrious a performance—in the preſence of the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Burgundy, who came to Paris after the battle of Verneuil. During the reſt of the century we find not unfrequently alluſions to the "Danſe Macabre." The Engliſh poet Lydgate wrote a ſeries of ſtanzas to accompany the figures, and it was the ſubject of ſome of the earlieſt engravings on wood. In the poſture and accompaniments of the figures repreſenting the different claſſes of ſociety, and in the greater or leſs reluctance with which the living accept their not very attractive partners, ſatire is uſually implied, and it is in ſome caſes accompanied with drollery. The figure repreſenting death has almoſt always a grimly mirthful countenance, and appears to be dancing with good will. The moſt remarkable early repreſentation of the "Danſe Macabre" now preſerved, is that painted on the wall of the church of La Chaiſe Dieu, in Auvergne, a beautiful fac-ſimile of which was publiſhed a few years ago by the well-known antiquary M. Jubinal. This remarkable picture begins with the figures of Adam and Eve, who are introducing death into the world in the form of a ſerpent with a death's head. The dance is opened by an eccleſiaſtic preaching from a pulpit, towards whom death is leading firſt in the dance the pope, for each individual takes his precedence ſtrictly according to his claſs—alternately an eccleſiaſtic and a layman. Thus next after the pope comes the emperor, and the cardinal is followed by the king. The baron is followed by the biſhop, and the grim partner of the latter appears to pay more attention to the layman than to his own prieſt, ſo that two dead men appear to have the former in charge. The group thus repreſented

ſented by the nobleman and the two deaths, is copied in our cut No. 132, and will ſerve as an example of the ſtyle and grouping of this remarkable painting. After a few other figures, perhaps leſs ſtriking, we come to the merchant, who receives the advances of his partner with a thoughtful air; while immediately after him another death is trying to make himſelf more acceptable to the baſhful nun by throwing a cloak over his nakedneſs. In another place two deaths armed with bows and arrows are

No. 132. *The Knight in the Dance of Death.*

ſcattering their ſhafts rather dangerouſly. Soon follow ſome of the more gay and youthful members of ſociety. Our cut No. 133 repreſents the muſician, who appears alſo to attract the attentions of two of the perſecutors. In his diſmay he is treading under foot his own viol. The dance cloſes with the lower orders of ſociety, and is concluded by a group which is not ſo eaſily underſtood. Before the end of the fifteenth century, there had appeared in Paris ſeveral editions of a ſeries of bold engravings on

on wood, in a ſmall folio ſize, repreſenting the ſame dance, though ſomewhat differently treated. France, indeed, appears to have been the native country of the "Danſe Macabre." But in the century following the beautiful ſet of drawings by the great artiſt Hans Holbein, firſt publiſhed at Lyons in 1538, gave to the Dance of Death a ſtill greater and wider

No. 133. *The Muſician in Death's Hands.*

celebrity. From this time the ſubjects of this dance were commonly introduced in initial letters, and in the engraved borders of pages, eſpecially in books of a religious character.

Death may truly be ſaid to have ſhared with Folly that melancholy period—the fifteenth century. As ſociety then preſented itſelf to the eye, people might eaſily ſuppoſe that the world was running mad, and folly, in one ſhape or other, ſeemed to be the principle which ruled moſt men's actions. The jocular ſocieties, deſcribed in my laſt chapter, which multiplied in France during the fifteenth century, initiated a ſort of mock worſhip of Folly. That ſort of inauguration of death which was

performed in the "Danſe Macabre," was of French growth, but the grand cruſade againſt folly appears to have originated in Germany. Sebaſtian Brandt was a native of Straſburg, born in 1458. He ſtudied in that city and in Bâle, became a celebrated profeſſor in both thoſe places, and died at the former in 1520. The "Ship of Fools," which has immortaliſed the name of Sebaſtian Brandt, is believed to have been firſt publiſhed in the year 1494. The original German text went through numerous editions within a few years; a Latin tranſlation was equally popular, and it was afterwards edited and enlarged by Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius. A French text was no leſs ſucceſsful; an Engliſh tranſlation was printed by Richard Pynſon in 1509; a Dutch verſion appeared in 1519. During the ſixteenth century, Brandt's "Ship of Fools" was the moſt popular of books. It conſiſts of a ſeries of bold woodcuts, which form its characteriſtic feature, and of metrical explanations, written by Brandt, and annexed to each cut. Taking his text from the words of the preacher, "Stultorum numerus eſt infinitus," Brandt expoſes to the eye, in all its ſhades and forms, the folly of his contemporaries, and bares to view its roots and cauſes. The cuts are eſpecially intereſting as ſtriking pictures of contemporary manners. The "Ship of Fools" is the great ſhip of the world, into which the various deſcriptions of fatuity are pouring from all quarters in boat-loads. The firſt folly is that of men who collected great quantities of books, not for their utility, but for their rarity, or beauty of execution, or rich bindings, ſo that we ſee that bibliomania had already taken its place among human vanities. The ſecond claſs of fools were intereſted and partial judges, who ſold juſtice for money, and are repreſented under the emblem of two fools throwing a boar into a caldron, according to the old Latin proverb, *Agere aprum in lebetem.* Then come the various follies of miſers, fops, dotards, men who are fooliſhly indulgent to their children, miſchief-makers, and deſpiſers of good advice; of nobles and men in power; of the profane and the improvident; of fooliſh lovers; of extravagant eaters and drinkers, &c., &c. Fooliſh talking, hypocriſy, frivolous purſuits, eccleſiaſtical corruptions, impudicity, and a great number of other vices as well as follies, are duly paſſed in review, and are repreſented in various forms of ſatirical caricature, and ſometimes in

ſimple

ſimpler unadorned pictures. Thus the fooliſh valuers of things are repreſented by a fool holding a balance, one ſcale of which contains the ſun, moon, and ſtars, to repreſent heaven and heavenly things, and the other a caſtle and fields, to repreſent earthly things, the latter ſcale overweighing the other; and the procraſtinator is pictured by another fool, with a parrot perched on his head, and a magpie on each hand, all repeating *cras, cras, cras* (to-morrow). Our cut No. 134 repreſents a group of diſturbers of

No. 134. *Diſturbers of Church Service*

church ſervice. It was a common practice in former days to take to church hawks (which were conſtantly carried about as the outward enſign of the gentleman) and dogs. The fool has here thrown back his fool's-cap to exhibit more fully the faſhionable "gent" of the day; he carries his hawk on his hand, and wears not only a faſhionable pair of ſhoes, but very faſhionable clogs alſo. Theſe gentlemen *à la mode, turgentes genere et natalibus altis*, we are told, were the perſons who diſturbed the church ſervice.

ſervice by the creaking of their ſhoes and clogs, the noiſe made by their birds, the barking and quarrelling of their dogs, by their own whiſperings, and eſpecially with immodeſt women, whom they met in church as in a convenient place of aſſignation. All theſe forms of the offence are expreſſed in the picture. Our ſecond example cut No. 135, which forms

No. 135. *Mendicants on their Travels.*

the fifty-ninth title or ſubject in the "Ship of Fools," repreſents a party of the beggars with which, either lay or eccleſiaſtical, the country was then overrun. In the explanation, theſe wicked beggars are deſcribed as indulging in idleneſs, in eating, drinking, rioting, and ſleep, while they levy contributions on the charitable feelings of the honeſt and induſtrious, and, under cover of begging, commit robbery wherever they find the opportunity. The beggar, who appears to be only a deceptive cripple, leads his donkey laden with children, whom he is bringing up in the ſame profeſſion, while his wife lingers behind to indulge in her bibulous propenſities.

penſities. Theſe cuts will give a tolerable notion of the general character of the whole, which amount in number to a hundred and twelve, and therefore preſent a great variety of ſubjects relative to almoſt every claſs and profeſſion of life.

We may remark, however, that after Folly had thus run through all the ſtages of ſociety, until it had reached the loweſt of all, the ranks of mendicity, the gods themſelves became alarmed, the more ſo as this great movement was directed eſpecially againſt Minerva, the goddeſs of wiſdom, and they held a conclave to provide againſt it. The reſult is not told, but the courſe of Folly goes on as vigorouſly as ever. Ignorant fools who ſet up for phyſicians, fools who cannot underſtand jokes, unwiſe mathematicians, aſtrologers, of the latter of which the moraliſer ſays, in his Latin verſe—

Siqua voles fortis prænoſcere damna futuræ,
Et vitare malum, ſol tibi ſigna dabit.
Sed tibi, ſtulte, tui cur non dedit ille furoris
Signa? aut, ſi dederit, cur tanta mala ſubis?
Nondum grammaticæ callis primordia, et audes
Vim cæli radio ſuppoſuiſſe tuo.

The next cut is a very curious one, and appears to repreſent a diſſecting-houſe of this early period. Among other chapters which afford intereſting pictures of that time, and indeed of all times, we may inſtance thoſe of litigious fools, who are always going to law, and who confound blind juſtice, or rather try to unbind her eyes; of filthy-tongued fools, who glorify the race of ſwine; of ignorant ſcholars; of gamblers; of bad and thieviſh cooks; of low men who ſeek to be high, and of high who are deſpiſers of poverty; of men who forget that they will die; of irreligious men and blaſphemers; of the ridiculous indulgence of parents to children, and the ungrateful return which was made to them for it; and of women's pride. Another title deſcribes the ruin of Chriſtianity: the pope, emperor, king, cardinals, &c., are receiving willingly from a ſuppliant fool the cap of Folly, while two other fools are looking deriſively upon them from an adjoining wall. It need hardly be ſaid that this was publiſhed on the eve of the Reformation.

In the midſt of the popularity which greeted the appearance of the work

work of Sebaſtian Brandt, it attracted the ſpecial attention of a celebrated preacher of the time named Johann Geiler. Geiler was born at Schaffhauſen, in Switzerland, in 1445, but having loſt his father when only three years of age, he was educated by his grandfather, who lived at Keyſerſberg, in Alſace, and hence he was commonly called Geiler of Keyſerſberg. He ſtudied in Freiburg and Bâle, obtained a great reputation for learning, was eſteemed a profound theologian, and was finally ſettled in Straſburg, where he continued to ſhine as a preacher until his death in 1510. He was a bold man, too, in the cauſe of truth, and declaimed with earneſt zeal againſt the corruptions of the church, and eſpecially againſt the monkiſh orders, for he compared the black monks to the devil, the white monks to his dam, and the others he ſaid were their chickens. On another occaſion he ſaid that the qualities of a good monk were an almighty belly, an aſs's back, and a raven's mouth. He told his congregation from the pulpit that a great reformation was at hand, that he did not expect to live to ſee it himſelf, but that many of thoſe who heard him would live to ſee it. As may be ſuppoſed, the monks hated him, and ſpoke of him with contempt. They ſaid, that in his ſermons he took his texts, not from the Scriptures, but from the "Ship of Fools" of Sebaſtian Brandt; and, in fact, during the year 1498, Geiler preached at Straſburg a ſeries of ſermons on the follies of his time, which were evidently founded upon Brandt's book, for the various follies were taken in the ſame order. They were originally compiled in German, but one of Geiler's ſcholars, Jacob Other, tranſlated them into Latin, and publiſhed them, in 1501, under the title of "Navicula ſive Speculum Fatuorum præſtantiſſimi ſacrarum literarum doctoris Johannis Geiler." Within a few years this work went through ſeveral editions both in Latin and in German, ſome of them illuſtrated by woodcuts. The ſtyle of preaching is quaint and curious, full of ſatirical wit, which is often coarſe, according to the manner of the time, ſometimes very indelicate. Each ſermon is headed by the motto, "Stultorum infinitus eſt numerus." Geiler takes for his theme in each ſermon one of the titles of Brandt's "Ship of Fools," and he ſeparates them into ſubdiviſions, or branches, which he calls the bells (*nolas*) from the fool's-cap.

The

The other ſcholar who did moſt to ſpread the knowledge of Brandt's work, was Jodocus Badius, who aſſumed the additional name of Aſcenſius becauſe he was born at Aſſen, near Bruſſels, in 1462. He was a very diſtinguiſhed ſcholar, but is beſt known for having eſtabliſhed a celebrated printing eſtabliſhment in Paris, where he died in 1535. I have already ſtated that Badius edited the Latin tranſlation of the "Ship of Fools" of Sebaſtian Brandt, with additional explanations of his own, but he was one of the firſt of Brandt's imitators. He ſeems to have thought that Brandt's book was not complete—that the weaker ſex had not received its fair ſhare of importance; and apparently in 1498, while Geiler was turning the "Stultifera Navis" into ſermons, Badius compiled a ſort of ſupplement to it (*additamentum*), to which he gave the title of "Stultiferæ naviculæ, ſeu Scaphæ, Fatuarum Mulierum," the Boats of Fooliſh Women. As far as can be traced, the firſt edition appears to have been printed in 1502. The firſt cut repreſents the ſhip carrying Eve alone of the female race, whoſe folly involved the whole world. The book is divided into five chapters, according to the number of the five ſenſes, each ſenſe repreſented by a boat carrying its particular claſs of fooliſh women to the great ſhip of fooliſh women, which lies off at anchor. The text conſiſts of a diſſertation on the uſe and abuſe of the particular ſenſe which forms the ſubſtance of the chapter, and it ends with Latin verſes, which are given as the boatman's *celeuſma*, or boat ſong. The firſt of theſe boats is the *ſcapha ſtultæ viſionis ad ſtultiferam navem perveniens*—the boat of fooliſh ſeeing proceeding to the ſhip of fools. A party of gay ladies are taking poſſeſſion of the boat, carrying with them their combs, looking-glaſſes, and all other implements neceſſary for making them fair to be looked upon. The ſecond boat is the *ſcapha auditionis fatuæ*, the boat of fooliſh hearing, in which the ladies are playing upon muſical inſtruments. The third is the *ſcapha olfactionis ſtultæ*, the boat of fooliſh ſmell, and the pictorial illuſtration to it is partly copied in our cut No. 136. In the original ſome of the ladies are gathering ſweet-ſmelling flowers before they enter the boat, while on board a pedlar is vending his perfume. One *folle femme*, with her fool's cap on her head, is buying a pomander, or, as we ſhould perhaps now ſay, a ſcent-ball, from the itinerant dealer. Figures of pomanders

are

are extremely rare, and this is an intereſting example; in fact, it is only recently that our Shakſpearian critics really underſtood the meaning of the word. A pomander was a ſmall globular veſſel, perforated with holes, and filled with ſtrong perfumes, as it is repreſented in our woodcut. The

No. 136. *The Boat of Pleaſant Odours.*

fourth of theſe boats is that of fooliſh taſting, *ſcapha guſtationis fatuæ*, and the ladies have their well-furniſhed table on board the boat, and are largely indulging in eating and drinking. In the laſt of theſe boats, the *ſcapha contactionis fatuæ*, or boat of fooliſh feeling, the women have men on board, and are proceeding to great liberties with them; one of the gentle damſels, too, is picking the pocket of her male companion in a very unlady-like manner.

Two ideas combined in this peculiar field of ſatiric literature, that of the ſhip and that of the fools, now became popular, and gave riſe to a hoſt of imitators. There appeared ſhips of health, ſhips of penitence, ſhips of all ſorts of things, on the one hand; and on the other, folly was a favourite theme of ſatire from many quarters. One of the moſt remarkable of the perſonages involved in this latter warfare, was the great ſcholar Deſiderius Eraſmus, of Rotterdam, who was born in that city in 1467. Like moſt of theſe ſatiriſts, Eraſmus was ſtrongly imbued with the ſpirit of the Reformation

Reformation, and he was the acquaintance and friend of thoſe to whom the Reformation owed a great part of its ſucceſs. In 1497, when the "Ship of Fools" of Sebaſtian Brandt was in the firſt full flush of its popularity, Eraſmus came to England, and was ſo well received, that from that time forward his literary life ſeemed more identified with our iſland than with any other country. His name is ſtill a ſort of houſehold word in our univerſities, eſpecially in that of Cambridge. He made here the friendly acquaintance of the great Sir Thomas More, himſelf a lover of mirth, and one of thoſe whoſe names are celebrated for having kept a court fool. In the earlier years of the ſixteenth century, Eraſmus viſited Italy, and paſſed two or three years there. He returned thence to England, as appears, early in the year 1508. It is not eaſy to decide whether his experience of ſociety in Italy had convinced him more than ever that folly was the preſiding genius of mankind, or what other feeling influenced him, but one of the firſt reſults of his voyage was the Μωρίας Ἐγκώμιον (*Moriæ Encomium*), or "Praiſe of Folly." Eraſmus dedicated this little jocular treatiſe to Sir Thomas More as a ſort of pun upon his name, although he proteſts that there was a great contraſt between the two characters. Eraſmus takes much the ſame view of folly as Brandt, Geiler, Badius, and the others, and under this name he writes a bold ſatire on the whole frame of contemporary ſociety. The ſatire is placed in the mouth of Folly herſelf (the Mère Folie of the jocular clubs), who delivers from her pulpit a declamation in which ſhe ſets forth her qualities and praiſes. She boaſts of the greatneſs of her origin, claims as her kindred the ſophiſts, rhetoricians, and many of the pretentious ſcholars and wiſe men, and deſcribes her birth and education. She claims divine affinity, and boaſts of her influence over the world, and of the beneficent manner in which it was exerciſed. All the world, ſhe pretends, was ruled under her auſpices, and it was only in her preſence that mankind was really happy. Hence the happieſt ages of man are infancy, before wiſdom has come to interfere, and old age, when it has paſſed away. Therefore, ſhe ſays, if men would remain faithful to her, and avoid wiſdom altogether, they would paſs a life of perpetual youth. In this long diſcourſe of the influence of folly, written by a man of the known

 ſentiments

ſentiments of Eraſmus, it would be ſtrange if the Romiſh church, with its monks and ignorant prieſthood, its ſaints, and relics, and miracles, did not find a place. Eraſmus intimates that the ſuperſtitious follies had become permanent, becauſe they were profitable. There are ſome, he tells us, who cheriſhed the fooliſh yet pleaſant perſuaſion, that if they fixed their eyes devoutly on a figure of St. Chriſtopher, carved in wood

No. 137. *Superſtition.*

or painted on the wall, they would be ſafe from death on that day; with many other examples of equal credulity. Then there are your pardons, your meaſures of purgatory, which may be bought off at ſo much the hour, or the day, or the month, and a multitude of other abſurdities. Eccleſiaſtics, ſcholars, mathematicians, philoſophers, all come in for their ſhare of the refined ſatire of this book, which, like the "Ship of Fools," has gone through innumerable editions, and has been tranſlated into many languages.

In an early French tranſlation, the text of this work of Eraſmus is embelliſhed with ſome of the woodcuts belonging to Brandt's "Ship of Fools,"

Fools," which, it need hardly be remarked, are altogether inappropriate, but the "Praiſe of Folly" was deſtined to receive illuſtrations from a more diſtinguiſhed pencil. A copy of the book came into the hands of Hans Holbein—it may poſſibly have been preſented to him by the author—and Holbein took ſo much intereſt in it, that he amuſed himſelf with drawing illuſtrative ſketches with a pen in the margins. This book afterwards paſſed into the library of the Univerſity of Bâle, where it was found in the latter part of the ſeventeenth century, and theſe drawings have ſince been engraved and added to moſt of the ſubſequent editions. Many of theſe ſketches are very ſlight, and ſome have not a very cloſe connection with the text of Eraſmus, but they are all characteriſtic, and ſhow the ſpirit—the ſpirit of the age—in which Holbein read his author. I give two examples of them, taken almoſt haphazard, for it would require a longer analyſis of the book than can be given here to make many of them underſtood. The firſt of theſe, our cut No. 137, repreſents the fooliſh warrior, who has a ſword long enough to truſt to it for defence,

No. 138. Preacher Folly ending her Sermon.

bowing with trembling ſuperſtition before a painting of St. Chriſtopher croſſing the water with the infant Chriſt on his ſhoulder, as a more certain ſecurity for his ſafety during that day. The other, our cut No. 138, repreſents the preacher, Lady Folly, deſcending from her pulpit, after ſhe has concluded her ſermon.

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULAR LITERATURE AND ITS HEROES; BROTHER RUSH, TYLL EULENSPIEGEL, THE WISE MEN OF GOTHAM.—STORIES AND JEST-BOOKS.—SKELTON, SCOGIN, TARLTON, PEELE.

THE people in the middle ages, as well as its ſuperiors, had its comic literature and legend. Legend was the literature eſpecially of the peaſant, and in it the ſpirit of burleſque and ſatire manifeſted itſelf in many ways. Simplicity, combined with vulgar cunning, and the circumſtances ariſing out of the exerciſe of theſe qualities, preſented the greateſt ſtimulants to popular mirth. They produced their popular heroes, who, at firſt, were much more than half legendary, ſuch as the familiar ſpirit, Robin Goodfellow, whoſe pranks were a ſource of continual amuſement rather than of terror to the ſimple minds which liſtened to thoſe who told them. Theſe ſtories excited with ſtill greater intereſt as their ſpiritual heroes became incarnate, and the auditors were perſuaded that the perpetrators of ſo many artful acts of cunning and of ſo many miſchievous practical jokes, were but ordinary men like themſelves. It was but a ſign or ſymbol of the change from the mythic age to that of practical life. One of the earlieſt of theſe ſtories of mythic comedy transformed into, or at leaſt preſented under the guiſe of, humanity, is that of Brother Ruſh. Although the earlieſt verſion of this ſtory with which we are acquainted dates only from the beginning of the ſixteenth century,* there is no reaſon for doubt that the ſtory itſelf was in exiſtence at a much more remote period.

Ruſh

* This earliest known version is in German verse, and was printed in 1515. An English version, in prose, was printed in 1620, and is reprinted in Thoms's "Collection of Early Prose Romances."

Ruſh was, in truth, a ſpirit of darkneſs, whoſe miſſion it was to wander on the earth tempting and impelling people to do evil. Perceiving that the internal condition of a certain abbey was well ſuited to his purpoſe, he preſented himſelf at its gates in the diſguiſe of a youth who wanted employment, and was received as an aſſiſtant in the kitchen, but he pleaſed the monks beſt by the ſkill with which he furniſhed them all with fair companions. At length he quarrelled with the cook, and threw him into the boiling caldron, and the monks, aſſuming that his death was accidental, appointed Ruſh to be cook in his place. After a ſervice of ſeven years in the kitchen—which appears to have been conſidered a fair apprenticeſhip for the new honour which was to be conferred upon him—the abbot and convent rewarded him by making him a monk. He now followed ſtill more earneſtly his deſign for the ruin of his brethren, both ſoul and body, and began by raiſing a quarrel about a woman, which led, through his contrivance, to a fight, in which the monks all ſuffered grievous bodily injuries, and in which Brother Ruſh was eſpecially active. He went on in this way until at laſt his true character was accidentally diſcovered. A neighbouring farmer, overtaken by night, took ſhelter in a hollow tree. It happened to be the night appointed by Lucifer to meet his agents on earth, and hear from them the report of their ſeveral proceedings, and he had ſelected this very oak as the place of rendezvous. There Brother Ruſh appeared, and the farmer, in his hiding-place, heard his confeſſion from his own lips, and told it to the abbot, who, being as it would appear a magician, conjured him into the form of a horſe, and baniſhed him. Ruſh hurried away to England, where he laid aſide his equine form, and entered the body of the king's daughter, who ſuffered great torments from his poſſeſſion. At length ſome of the great doctors from Paris came and obliged the ſpirit to confeſs that nobody but the abbot of the diſtant monaſtery had any power over him. The abbot came, called him out of the maiden, and conjured him more forcibly than ever into the form of a horſe.

Such is, in mere outline, the ſtory of Brother Ruſh, which was gradually enlarged by the addition of new incidents. But the people wanted a hero who preſented more of the character of reality, who, in fact,

fact, might be recogniſed as one of themſelves; and ſuch heroes appear to have exiſted at all times. They uſually repreſented a claſs in ſociety, and eſpecially that claſs which conſiſted of idle ſharpers, who lived by their wits, and which was more numerous and more familiarly known in the middle ages than at the preſent day. Folly and cunning combined preſented a never-failing ſubject of mirth. This claſs of adventurers firſt came into print in Germany, and it is there that we find its firſt popular hero, to whom they gave the name of Eulenſpiegel, which means literally "the owl's mirror," and has been ſince uſed in German in the ſenſe of a merry fool. Tyll Eulenſpiegel, and his ſtory, are ſuppoſed to have belonged to the fourteenth century, though we firſt know them in the printed book of the commencement of the ſixteenth, which is believed ſo have come from the pen of the well-known popular writer, Thomas Murner, of whom I ſhall have to ſpeak more at length in another chapter. The popularity of this work was very great, and it was quickly tranſlated into French, Engliſh, Latin, and almoſt every other language of Weſtern Europe. In the Engliſh verſion the name alſo was tranſlated, and appears under the form of Owleglaſs, or, as it often occurs with the ſuperfluous aſpirate, Howleglaſs.* According to the ſtory, Tyll Eulenſpiegel was the ſon of a peaſant, and was born at a village called Kneitlingen, in the land of Brunſwick. The ſtory of his birth may be given in the words of the early Engliſh verſion, as a ſpecimen of its quaint and antiquated language :—

"Yn the lande of Sassen, in the vyllage of Ruelnige, there dwelleth a man that was named Nicholas Howleglas, that had a wife named Wypeke, that lay a childbed in the same wyllage, and that chylde was borne to christening and named Tyell Howleglass. And than the chyld was brought into a taverne, where the father was wyth his gosseppes and made good chere. Whan the mydwife had wel dronke,

* The title of this English translation is, "Here beginneht a merye Jest of a man that was called Howleglas, and of many marveylous thinges and jestes that he dyd in his lyfe, in Eastlande, and in many other places." It was printed by Coplande, supposed about 1520. An edition of Eulenspiegel in English, by Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, has recently been published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., of Paternoster Row.

dronke, she toke the childe to bere it home, and in the wai was a litle bridg over a muddy water. And as the mydwife would have gone over the lytle brydge, she fel into the mudde with the chylde, for she had a lytel dronk to much wyne, for had not helpe come quickly, the had both be drowned in the mudde. And whan the came home with the childe, the made a kettle of warm water to be made redi, and therin they washed the child clen of the mudde. And thus was Howleglas thre tymes in one dai cristened, once at the churche, once in the mudde, and once in the warm water."

It will be ſeen that the Engliſh tranſlator was not very correct in his geography or in his names. The child, having thus eſcaped deſtruction, grew rapidly, and diſplayed an extraordinary love of miſchief, with various other evil propenſities, as well as a cunning beyond his age, in eſcaping the riſks to which theſe expoſed him. At a very early age, he diſplayed a remarkable talent for ſetting the other children by the ears, and this was his favourite amuſement during life. His mother, who was now a widow, contemplating the extraordinary cunning of her child, which, as ſhe thought, muſt neceſſarily enſure his advancement in the world, reſolved that he ſhould no longer remain idle, and put him apprentice to a baker; but his wicked and reſtleſs diſpoſition defeated all the good intentions of his parent, and Eulenſpiegel was obliged to leave his maſter in conſequence of his mal-practices. One day his mother took him to a church-dedication, and the child drank ſo much at the feaſt on that occaſion, that he crept into an empty beehive and fell aſleep, while his mother, thinking he had gone home, returned without him. In the night-time two thieves came into the garden to ſteal the bees, and they agreed to take firſt the hive which was heavieſt. This, as may be ſuppoſed, proved to be the hive in which Eulenſpiegel was hidden, and they fixed it on a pole which they carried on their ſhoulders, one before and one behind, the hive hanging between them. Eulenſpiegel, awakened by the movement, ſoon diſcovered the poſition in which he was placed, and hit upon a plan for eſcaping. Gently lifting the lid of the hive, he put out his arm and plucked the hair of the man before, who turned about and accuſed his companion of inſulting him. The other aſſerted that he had not touched him, and the firſt, only half ſatisfied, continued to bear his ſhare of the burthen, but he had not advanced many ſteps when a ſtill ſharper pull at his hair excited his

his great anger, and from wrathful words the two thieves proceeded to blows. While they were fighting, Eulenſpiegel crept out of the hive and ran away.

After leaving the baker, Eulenſpiegel became a wanderer in the world, gaining his living by his trickery and deception, and engaging himſelf in all ſorts of ſtrange and ludicrous adventures. He ended everywhere by creating diſcord and ſtrife. He became at different times a blackſmith, a ſhoemaker, a tailor, a cook, a drawer of teeth, and aſſumed a variety of other characters, but remained in each ſituation only long enough to make it too hot for him, and to be obliged to ſecure his retreat. He intruded himſelf into all claſſes of ſociety, and invariably came to ſimilar reſults. Many of his adventures, indeed, are ſo droll that we can eaſily underſtand the great popularity they once enjoyed. But they are not merely amuſing—they preſent a continuous ſatire upon contemporary ſociety, upon a ſocial condition in which every pretender, every reckleſs impoſtor, every private plunderer or public depredator, ſaw the world expoſed to him in its folly and credulity as an eaſy prey.

The middle ages poſſeſſed another claſs of theſe popular ſatirical hiſtories, which were attached to places rather than to perſons. There were few countries which did not poſſeſs a town or a diſtrict, the inhabitants of which were celebrated for ſtupidity, or for roguery, or for ſome other ridiculous or contemptible quality. We have ſeen, in a former chapter, the people of Norfolk enjoying this peculiarity, and, at a later period, the inhabitants of Pevenſey in Suſſex, and more eſpecially thoſe of Gotham in Nottinghamſhire, were ſimilarly diſtinguiſhed. The inhabitants of many places in Germany bore this character, but their grand repreſentatives among the Germans were the Schildburgers, a name which appears to belong entirely to the domain of fable. Schildburg, we are told, was a town "in Miſnopotamia, beyond Utopia, in the kingdom of Calecut." The Schildburgers were originally ſo renowned for their wiſdom, that they were continually invited into foreign countries to give their advice, until at length not a man was left at home, and their wives were obliged to aſſume the charge of the duties of their huſbands. This became at length ſo onerous, that the wives held a council, and reſolved on deſpatching a

ſolemn

ſolemn meſſage in writing to call the men home. This had the deſired effect; all the Schildburgers returned to their own town, and were ſo joyfully received by their wives that they reſolved upon leaving it no more. They accordingly held a council, and it was decided that, having experienced the great inconvenience of a reputation of wiſdom, they would avoid it in future by aſſuming the character of fools. One of the firſt evil reſults of their long neglect of home affairs was the want of a council-hall, and this want they now reſolved to ſupply without delay. They accordingly went to the hills and woods, cut down the timber, dragged it with great labour to the town, and in due time completed the erection of a handſome and ſubſtantial building. But, when they entered their new council-hall, what was their conſternation to find themſelves in perfect darkneſs! In fact, they had forgotten to make any windows. Another council was held, and one who had been among the wiſeſt in the days of their wiſdom, gave his opinion very oracularly; the reſult of which was that they ſhould experiment on every poſſible expedient for introducing light into the hall, and that they ſhould firſt try that which ſeemed moſt likely to ſucceed. They had obſerved that the light of day was cauſed by ſunſhine, and the plan propoſed was to meet at mid-day when the ſun was brighteſt, and fill ſacks, hampers, jugs, and veſſels of all kinds, with ſunſhine and daylight, which they propoſed afterwards to empty into the unfortunate council-hall. Next day, as the clock ſtruck one, you might ſee a crowd of Schildburgers before the council-houſe door, buſily employed, ſome holding the ſacks open, and others throwing the light into them with ſhovels and any other appropriate implements which came to hand. While they were thus labouring, a ſtranger came into the town of Schildburg, and, hearing what they were about, told them they were labouring to no purpoſe, and offered to ſhow them how to get the daylight into the hall. It is unneceſſary to ſay more than that this new plan was to make an opening in the roof, and that the Schildburgers witneſſed the effect with aſtoniſhment, and were loud in their gratitude to their new comer.

The Schildburgers met with further difficulties before they completed their council-hall. They ſowed a field with ſalt, and when the ſalt-plant

 grew

grew up next year, after a meeting of the council, at which it was ſtiffly diſputed whether it ought to be reaped, or mowed, or gathered in in ſome other manner, it was finally diſcovered that the crop conſiſted of nothing but nettles. After many accidents of this kind, the Schildburgers are noticed by the emperor, and obtain a charter of incorporation and freedom, but they profit little by it. In trying ſome experiments to catch mice, they ſet fire to their houſes, and the whole town is burnt to the ground, upon which, in their ſorrow, they abandon it altogether, and become, like the Jews of old, ſcattered over the world, carrying their own folly into every country they viſit.

The earlieſt known edition of the hiſtory of the Schildburgers was printed in 1597,* but the ſtory itſelf is no doubt older. It will be ſeen at once that it involves a ſatire upon the municipal towns of the middle ages. A ſimilar ſeries of adventures, only a little more clerical, bore the title of "Der Pfarrherrn vom Kalenberg," or the Parſon of Kalenberg, and was firſt, as far as we know, publiſhed in the latter half of the ſixteenth century. The firſt known edition, printed in 1582, is in proſe. Von der Hagen, who reprinted a ſubſequent edition in verſe, in a volume already quoted, ſeems to think that in its firſt form the ſtory belongs to the fourteenth century.

The Schildburgers of Germany were repreſented in England by the wiſe men of Gotham. Gotham is a village and pariſh about ſeven miles to the ſouth-weſt of Nottingham, and, curiouſly enough, a ſtory is told according to which the folly of the men of Gotham, like that of the Schildburgers, was at firſt aſſumed. It is pretended that one day king John, on his way to Nottingham, intended to paſs through the village of Gotham, and that the Gothamites, under the influence of ſome vague notion that his preſence would be injurious to them, raiſed difficulties in his way which prevented his viſit. The men of Gotham were now apprehenſive of the king's vengeance, and they reſolved to try and evade it by aſſuming the character of ſimpletons. When the king's officers came to Gotham

to

* It was reprinted by Von der Hagen, in a little volume entitled "Narrenbuch; herausgegeben durch Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen." 12mo., Halle, 1811.

to inquire into the conduct of the inhabitants, they found them engaged in the moſt extraordinary purſuits, ſome of them ſeeking to drown an eel in a pond of water, others making a hedge round a tree to confine a cuckoo which had ſettled in it, and others employing themſelves in ſimilar futile purſuits. The commiſſioners reported the people of Gotham to be no better than fools, and by this ſtratagem they eſcaped any further perſecution, but the character they aſſumed remained attached to them.

This explanation is, of courſe, very late and very apocryphal; but there can be little doubt that the character of the wiſe men of Gotham is one of conſiderable antiquity. The ſtory is believed to have been drawn up in its preſent form by Andrew Borde, an Engliſh writer of the reign of Henry VIII. It was reprinted a great number of times under the form of thoſe popular books called chap-books, becauſe they were hawked about the country by itinerant bookſellers or chap-men. The acts of the Gothamites diſplayed a greater degree of ſimplicity even than thoſe of the Schildburgers, but they are leſs connected. Here is one anecdote told in the unadorned language of the chap-books, in explanation of which it is only neceſſary to ſtate that the men of Gotham admired greatly the note of the cuckoo. "On a time the men of Gotham fain would have pinn'd in the cuckow, that ſhe might ſing all the year; and, in the midſt of the town, they had a hedge made round in compaſs, and got a cuckow and put her into it, and ſaid, 'Sing here, and you ſhall lack neither meat nor drink all the year.' The cuckow, when ſhe perceived herſelf encompaſſed with the hedge, flew away. 'A vengeance on her,' ſaid theſe wiſe men, 'we did not make our hedge high enough.'" On another occaſion, having caught a large eel which offended them by its voracity, they aſſembled in council to deliberate on an appropriate puniſhment, which ended in a reſolution that it ſhould be drowned, and the criminal was ceremoniouſly thrown into a great pond. One day twelve men of Gotham went a-fiſhing, and on their way home they ſuddenly diſcovered that they had loſt one of their number, and each counted in his turn, and could find only eleven. In fact, each forgot to count himſelf. In the midſt of their diſtreſs—for they believed their companion to be drowned—a ſtranger approached, and learnt the cauſe of their ſorrow.

Finding

Finding they were not to be convinced of their miſtake by mere argument, he offered, on certain conditions, to find the loſt Gothamite, and he proceeded as follows. He took one by one each of the twelve Gothamites, ſtruck him a hard blow on the ſhoulder, which made him ſcream, and at each cry counted one, two, three, &c. When it came to twelve, they were all ſatisfied that the loſt Gothamite had returned, and paid the man for the ſervice he had rendered them.

As a chap-book, this hiſtory of the men of Gotham became ſo popular, that it gave riſe to a hoſt of other books of ſimilar character, which were compiled at a later period under ſuch titles—formerly well known to children—as, "The Merry Frolicks, or the Comical Cheats of Swalpo;" "The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan, commonly called the King's Fool;" "Simple Simon's Misfortunes;" and the like. Nor muſt it be forgotten that the hiſtory of Eulenſpiegel was the prototype of a claſs of popular hiſtories of larger dimenſions, repreſented in our own literature by "The Engliſh Rogue," the work of Richard Head and Francis Kirkman, in the reign of Charles II., and various other "rogues" belonging to different countries, which appeared about that time, or not long afterwards. The earlieſt of theſe books was "The Spaniſh Rogue, or Life of Guzman de Alfaraohe," written in Spaniſh by Mateo Aleman in the latter part of the ſixteenth century. Curiouſly enough, ſome Engliſhman, not knowing apparently that the hiſtory of Eulenſpiegel had appeared in Engliſh under the name of Owlglaſs, took it into his head to introduce him among the family of rogues which had thus come into faſhion, and, in 1720, publiſhed as "Made Engliſh from the High Dutch," what he called "The German Rogue, or the Life and Merry Adventures, Cheats, Stratagems, and Contrivances of Tiel Euleſpiegle."

The fifteenth century was the period during which mediæval forms generally were changing into forms adapted to another ſtate of ſociety, and in which much of the popular literature which has been in vogue during modern times took its riſe. In the fourteenth century, the fabliaux of the jougleurs were already taking what we may perhaps term a more literary form, and were reduced into proſe narratives. This took place eſpecially in Italy, where theſe proſe tales were called *novelle*, implying ſome

ſome novelty in their character, a word which was transferred into the French language under the form of *nouvelles*, and was the origin of our modern Engliſh *novel*, applied to a work of fiction. The Italian noveliſts adopted the Eaſtern plan of ſtringing theſe ſtories together on the ſlight framework of one general plot, in which are introduced cauſes for telling them and perſons who tell them. Thus the Decameron of Boccaccio holds towards the fabliaux exactly the ſame poſition as that of the "Arabian Nights" to the older Arabian tales. The Italian noveliſts became numerous and celebrated throughout Europe, from the time of Boccaccio to that of Straparola, at the commencement of the ſixteenth century, and later. The taſte for this claſs of literature appears to have been introduced into France at the court of Burgundy, where, under duke Philippe le Bon, a well-known courtier and man of letters named Antoine de La Sale, who had, during a ſojourn in Italy, become acquainted with one of the moſt celebrated of the earlier Italian collections, the "Cento Novello," or the Hundred Novels, compiled a collection in French in imitation of them, under the title of "Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," or the Hundred new Novels, one of the pureſt examples of the French language in the fifteenth century.* The later French ſtory-books, ſuch as the Heptameron of the queen of Navarre, and others, belong chiefly to the ſixteenth century. Theſe collections of ſtories can hardly be ſaid to have ever taken root in this iſland as a part of Engliſh literature.

But there aroſe partly out of theſe ſtories a claſs of books which became greatly multiplied, and were, during a long period, extremely popular. With the houſehold fool, or jeſter, inſtead of the old jougleur, the ſtories had been ſhorn of their detail, and ſank into the ſhape of mere witty anecdotes, and at the ſame time a taſte aroſe for what we now claſs under the general term of jeſts, clever ſayings, what the French call *bons mots*, and what the Engliſh of the ſixteenth century termed "quick anſwers."

* I am obliged to pass over this part of the subject very rapidly. For the history of that remarkable book, the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," I would refer the reader to the preface to my own edition, "Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, publiées d'après le seul manuscrit connu, avec Introduction et Notes, par M. Thomas Wright." 2 vols. 12mo., Paris, 1858.

anſwers." The word *jeſt* itſelf, aroſe from the circumſtance that the things deſignated by it aroſe out of the older ſtories, for it is a mere corruption of geſtes, the Latin *geſta*, in the ſenſe of narratives of acts or deeds, or tales. The Latin writers, who firſt began to collect them into books, included them under the general name of *facetiæ*. The earlier of theſe collections of facetiæ were written in Latin, and of the origin of the firſt with which we are acquainted, that by the celebrated ſcholar Poggio of Florence, a curious anecdote is told. Some wits of the court of pope Martin V., elected to the papacy in 1417, among whom were the pope's two ſecretaries, Poggio and Antonio Luſco, Cincio of Rome, and Ruzello of Bologna, appropriated to themſelves a private corner in the Vatican, where they aſſembled to chat freely among themſelves. They called it their *buggiale*, a word which ſignifies in Italian, a place of recreation, where they tell ſtories, make jeſts, and amuſe themſelves with diſcuſſing ſatirically the doings and characters of everybody. This was the way in which Poggio and his friends entertained themſelves in their buggiale, and we are aſſured that in their talk they neither ſpared the church nor the pope himſelf or his government. The facetiæ of Poggio, in fact, which are ſaid to be a ſelection of the good things ſaid in theſe meetings, ſhow neither reverence for the church of Rome nor reſpect for decency, but they are moſtly ſtories which had been told over and over again, long before Poggio came into the world. It was perhaps this ſatire upon the church and upon the eccleſiaſtics which gave much of their popularity to theſe facetiæ at a time when a univerſal agitation of men's minds on religious affairs prevailed, which was the great harbinger of the Reformation; and the next Latin books of facetiæ came from men ſuch as Henry Bebelius, who were zealous reformers themſelves.

Many of the jeſts in theſe Latin collections are put into the mouths of jeſters, or domeſtic fools, *fatui*, or *moriones*, as they are called in the Latin; and in England, where theſe jeſt-books in the vernacular tongue became more popular perhaps than in any other country, many of them were publiſhed under the names of celebrated jeſters, as the "Merie Tales of Skelton," "The Jeſts of Scogin," "Tarlton's Jeſts," and "The Jeſts of George Peele."

John

John Skelton, poet-laureat of his time, appears to have been known in the courts of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. quite as much in the character of a jeſter as in that of a poet. Poet-laureat was then a title or degree given in the univerſity of Oxford. His "Merye Tales" are all perſonal of himſelf, and we ſhould be inclined to ſay that his jeſts and his poetry are equally bad. The former picture him as holding a place ſomewhere between Eulenſpiegel and the ordinary court-fool. We may give as a ſample of the beſt of them the tale No. I.—

"*How Skelton came home late to Oxford from Abington.*

"Skelton was an Englysheman borne as Skogyn was, and hee was educated and broughte up in Oxfoorde, and there was he made a poete lauriat. And on a tyme he had ben at Abbington to make mery, wher that he had eate salte meates, and hee did com late home to Oxforde, and he did lye in an ine named the Tabere, whyche is now the Angell, and hee dyd drynke, and went to bed. About midnight he was so thyrstie or drye that he was constrained to call to the tapster for drynke, and the tapster harde him not. Then hee cryed to hys oste and hys ostes, and to the ostler, for drinke, and no man would here hym. Alacke, sayd Skelton, I shall peryshe for lacke of drynke! What reamedye? At the last he dyd crie out and sayd, Fyer, fyer, fyer! When Skelton hard every man bustle hymselfe upward, and some of them were naked, and some were halfe asleepe and amased, and Skelton dyd crye, Fier, fier! styll, that everye man knewe not whether to resorte. Skelton did go to bed, and the oste and ostis, and the tapster, with the ostler, dyd runne to Skeltons chamber with candles lyghted in theyr handes, saying, Where, where, where is the fyer? Here, here, here, said Skelton, and poynted hys fynger to hys mouth, saying, Fetch me some drynke to quenche the fyer and the heate and the drinesse in my mouthe. And so they dyd."

Another of theſe "Merye Tales" of Skelton contains a ſatire upon the practice which prevailed in the ſixteenth and early part of the ſeventeenth centuries of obtaining letters-patent of monopoly from the crown, and alſo on the bibulous propenſities of Welſhmen—

"*How the Welshman dyd desyre Skelton to ayde hym in hys sute to the kynge for a patent to sell drynke.*

"Skelton, when he was in London, went to the kynges courte, where there did come to hym a Welshman, saying, Syr, it is so, that manye dooth come upp of my country to the kynges court, and some doth get of the kyng by patent a castell, and some a parke, and some a forest, and some one fee and some another, and they dooe lyve lyke honest men; and I shoulde lyve as honestly as the best, if I myght have a patyne for good dryncke, wherefore I dooe praye yow to write a fewe woords for mee in a lytle byll to geve the same to the kynges handes, and I wil geve you well for

for your laboure. I am contented, sayde Skelton. Syt downe then, sayde the Welshman, and write. What shall I wryte? sayde Skelton. The Welshman sayde wryte *dryncke*. Nowe, sayde the Welshman, write *more dryncke*. What now? sayde Skelton. Wryte nowe, *a great deale of dryncke*. Nowe, sayd the Welshman, putte to all thys dryncke *a littell crome of breade*, and *a great deale of drynke* to it, and reade once agayne. Skelton dyd reade, *Dryncke, more dryncke, and a great deale of dryncke, and a lytle crome of breade, and a great deale of dryncke to it.* Than the Welshman sayde, Put oute *the litle crome of breade*, and sette in, *all dryncke and no breade*. And if I myght have thys sygned of the kynge, sayde the Welshman, I care for no more, as longe as I dooe lyve. Well then, sayde Skelton, when you have thys signed of the kyng, then wyll I labour for a patent to have bread, that you wyth your drynke and I with the bread may fare well, and seeke our livinge with bagge and staffe."

Theſe two tales are rather favourable ſpecimens of the collection publiſhed under the name of Skelton, which, as far as we know, was firſt printed about the middle of the ſixteenth century. The collection of the jeſts of Scogan, or, as he was popularly called, Scogin, which is ſaid to have been compiled by Andrew Borde, was probably given to the world a few years before, but no copies of the earlier editions are now known to exiſt. Scogan, the hero of theſe jeſts, is deſcribed as occupying at the court of Henry VII. a poſition not much different from that of an ordinary court-fool. Good old Holinſhed the chronicler ſays of him, perhaps a little too gently, that he was "a learned gentleman and ſtudent for a time in Oxford, of a pleaſant wit, and bent to merrie devices, in reſpect whereof he was called into the court, where, giving himſelfe to his naturall inclination of mirth and pleaſant paſtime, he plaied manie ſporting parts, although not in ſuch uncivil manner as hath beene of him reported." This alluſion refers moſt probably to the jeſts, which repreſent him as leading a life of low and coarſe buffoonery, in the courſe of which he diſplayed a conſiderable ſhare of the diſhoneſt and miſchievous qualities of the leſs real Eulenſpiegel. He is even repreſented as perſonally inſulting the king and queen, and as being conſequently baniſhed over the Channel, to ſhow no more reſpect to the majeſty of the king of France. Scogin's jeſts, like Skelton's, conſiſt in a great meaſure of thoſe practical jokes which appear in all former ages to have been the delight of the Teutonic race. Many of them are directed againſt the ignorance and worldlineſs of the clergy. Scogin is deſcribed as being at one time himſelf a teacher in the univerſity, and

and on one occaſion, we are told, a huſbandman ſent his ſon to ſchool to him that he might be made a prieſt. The whole ſtory, which runs through ſeveral chapters, is an excellent caricature on the way in which men vulgarly ignorant were intruded into the prieſthood before the Reformation. At length, after much blundering, the ſcholar came to be ordained, and his examination is reported as follows :—

"*How the ſcholler ſaid Tom Miller of Oſeney was Jacob's father.*

"After this, the ſaid ſcholler did come to the next orders, and brought a preſent to the ordinary from Scogin, but the ſcholler's father paid for all. Then ſaid the ordinary to the ſcholler, I muſt needes oppoſe you, and for maſter Scogin's ſake, I will oppoſe you in a light matter. Iſaac had two ſons, Eſau and Jacob. Who was Jacob's father? The ſcholler ſtood ſtill, and could not tell. Well, ſaid the ordinary, I cannot admit you to be prieſt untill the next orders, and then bring me an anſwer. The ſcholler went home with a heavy heart, bearing a letter to maſter Scogin, how his ſcholler could not anſwer to this queſtion: Iſaac had two ſons, Eſau and Jacob; who was Jacob's father? Scogin ſaid to his ſcholler, Thou foole and aſſe-head! Doſt thou not know Tom Miller of Oſeney? Yes, ſaid the ſcholler! Then, ſaid Scogin, thou knowest he had two ſonnes, Tom and Jacke; who is Jacke's father? The ſcholler ſaid, Tom Miller. Why, ſaid Scogin, thou mightest have ſaid that Iſaac was Jacob's father. Then ſaid Scogin, Thou ſhalt ariſe betime in the morning, and carry a letter to the ordinary, and I truſt he will admit thee before the orders ſhall be given. The ſcholler roſe up betime in the morning, and carried the letter to the ordinary. The ordinary ſaid, For Maſter Scogin's ſake I will oppoſe you no farther than I did yeſterday. Iſaac had two ſons, Eſau and Jacob; who was Jacob's father? Marry, ſaid the ſcholler, I can tell you now that was Tom Miller of Oſeney. Goe, foole, goe, ſaid the ordinary, and let thy maſter ſend thee no more to me for orders, for it is impoſſible to make a foole a wiſe man."

Scogin's ſcholar was, however, made a prieſt, and ſome of the ſtories which follow deſcribe the ludicrous manner in which he exerciſed the prieſthood. Two other ſtories illuſtrate Scogin's ſuppoſed poſition at court :—

"*How Scogin told thoſe that mocked him that he had a wall-eye.*

"Scogin went up and down in the king's hall, and his hoſen hung downe, and his coat ſtood awry, and his hat ſtood a boonjour, ſo every man did mocke Scogin. Some ſaid he was a proper man, and did wear his rayment cleanly; ſome ſaid the foole could not put on his owne rayment; ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome ſaid another. At laſt Scogin ſaid, Maſters, you have praiſed me wel, but you did not

 eſpy

eſpy one thing in me. What is that, Tom? said the men. Marry, said Scogin, I have a wall-eye. What meanest thou by that? said the men. Marry, said Scogin, I have spyed a sort of knaves that doe mocke me, and are worse fooles themselves."

"*How Scogin drew his sonne up and downe the court.*

"After this Scogin went from the court, and put off his foole's garments, and came to the court like an honest man, and brought his son to the court with him, and within the court he drew his sonne up and downe by the heeles. The boy cried out, and Scogin drew the boy in every corner. At last every body had pity on the boy, and said, Sir, what doe you meane, to draw the boy about the court? Masters, said Scogin, he is my sonne, and I doe it for this cause. Every man doth say, that man or child which is drawne up in the court shall be the better as long as hee lives; and therefore I will every day once draw him up and downe the court, after that hee may come to preferment in the end."

The appreciation of a good joke cannot at this time have been very great or very general, for Scogin's jeſts were wonderfully popular during at leaſt a century, from the firſt half of the ſixteenth century. They paſſed through many editions, and are frequently alluded to by the writers of the Elizabethan age. The next individual whoſe name appears at the head of a collection of his jeſts, was the well-known wit, Richard Tarlton, who may be fairly conſidered as court fool to Queen Elizabeth. His jeſts belong to the ſame claſs as thoſe of Skelton and Scogin, and if poſſible, they preſent a ſtill greater amount of dulneſs. Tarlton's jeſts were ſoon followed by the "merrie conceited jeſts" of George Peele, the dramatiſt, who is deſcribed in the title as "gentleman, ſometimes ſtudent in Oxford;" and it is added that in theſe jeſts "is ſhewed the courſe of his life, how he lived; a man very well knowne in the city of London and elſewhere." In fact, Peele's jeſts are chiefly curious for the ſtriking picture they give us of the wilder ſhades of town life under the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

During the period which witneſſed the publication in England of theſe books, many other jeſt-books appeared, for they had already become an important claſs of Engliſh popular literature. Moſt of them were publiſhed anonymouſly, and indeed they are mere compilations from the older collections in Latin and French. All that was at all good, even in the jeſts of Skelton, Scogin, Tarlton, and Peele, had been repeated over and over again by the ſtory-tellers and jeſters

jeſters of former ages. Two of the earlier Engliſh collections have gained a greater celebrity than the reſt, chiefly through adventitious circumſtances. One of theſe, entitled "A Hundred Merry Tales," has gained diſtinction among Shakespearian critics as the one eſpecially alluded to by the great poet in "Much Ado about Nothing," (Act ii., Sc. 1), where Beatrice complains that ſomebody had ſaid "that I had my good wit out of the Hundred Merry Tales." The other collection alluded to was entitled "Mery Tales, Wittie Queſtions, and Quicke Anſweres, very pleaſant to be readde," and was printed in 1567. Its modern fame appears to have ariſen chiefly from the circumſtance that, until the accidental diſcovery of the unique and imperfect copy of the "Hundred Merry Tales," it was ſuppoſed to be the book alluded to by Shakeſpeare. Both theſe collections are mere compilations from the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," Poggio," "Straparola," and other foreign works.* The words put into the mouth of Beatrice are correctly deſcriptive of the uſe made of theſe jeſt-books. It had become faſhionable to learn out of them jeſts and ſtories, in order to introduce them into polite converſation, and eſpecially at table; and this practice continued to prevail until a very recent period. The number of ſuch jeſt-books publiſhed during the ſixteenth, ſeventeeth, and eighteenth centuries, was quite extraordinary. Many of theſe were given anonymouſly; but many alſo were put forth under names which poſſeſſed temporary celebrity, ſuch as Hobſon the carrier, Killigrew the jeſter, the friend of Charles II., Ben Jonſon, Garrick, and a multitude of others. It is, perhaps, unneceſſary to remind the reader that the great modern repreſentative of this claſs of literature is the illuſtrious Joe Miller.

* A neat and useful edition of these two jest-books, with the other most curious books of the same class, published during the Elizabethan period, has recently been published in two volumes, by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt.

CHAPTER XV.

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.—THOMAS MURNER; HIS GENERAL SATIRES.—FRUITFULNESS OF FOLLY.—HANS SACHS.—THE TRAP FOR FOOLS.—ATTACKS ON LUTHER.—THE POPE AS ANTICHRIST.—THE POPE-ASS AND THE MONK-CALF.—OTHER CARICATURES AGAINST THE POPE.—THE GOOD AND BAD SHEPHERDS.

THE reign of Folly did not paſs away with the fifteenth century—on the whole the ſixteenth century can hardly be ſaid to have been more ſane than its predeceſſor, but it was agitated by a long and fierce ſtruggle to diſengage European ſociety from the trammels of the middle ages. We have entered upon what is technically termed the *renaiſſance*, and are approaching the great religious reformation. The period during which the art of printing began firſt to ſpread generally over Weſtern Europe, was peculiarly favourable to the production of ſatirical books and pamphlets, and a conſiderable number of clever and ſpirited ſatiriſts and comic writers appeared towards the end of the fifteenth century, eſpecially in Germany, where circumſtances of a political character had at an early period given to the intellectual agitation a more permanent ſtrength than it could eaſily or quickly gain in the great monarchies. Among the more remarkable of theſe ſatiriſts was Thomas Murner, who was born at Straſburg, in 1475. The circumſtances even of his childhood are ſingular, for he was born a cripple, or became one in his earlieſt infancy, though he was ſubſequently healed, and it was ſo univerſally believed that this malady was the effect of witchcraft, that he himſelf wrote afterwards a treatiſe upon this ſubject under the title of "De Phitonico Contractu." The ſchool in which he was taught may at leaſt have encouraged his ſatirical ſpirit, for his maſter was Jacob Locher, the ſame who tranſlated into Latin verſe the "Ship of Fools" of Sebaſtian Brandt.

At

At the end of the century Murner had become a maſter of arts in the Univerſity of Paris, and had entered the Franciſcan order. His reputation as a German popular poet was ſo great, that the emperor Maximilian I., who died in 1519, conferred upon him the crown of poetry, or, in other words, made him poet-laureat. He took the degree of doctor in theology in 1509. Still Murner was known beſt as the popular writer, and he publiſhed ſeveral ſatirical poems, which were remarkable for the bold woodcuts that illuſtrated them, for engraving on wood flouriſhed at this period. He expoſed the corruptions of all claſſes of ſociety, and, before the Reformation broke out, he did not even ſpare the corruptions of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, but ſoon declared himſelf a fierce opponent of the Reformers. When the Lutheran revolt againſt the Papacy became ſtrong, our king, Henry VIII., who took a decided part againſt Luther, invited Murner to England, and on his return to his own country, the ſatiric Franciſcan became more bitter againſt the Reformation than ever. He advocated the cauſe of the Engliſh monarch in a pamphlet, now very rare, in which he diſcuſſed the queſtion whether Henry VIII. or Luther was the liar—"Antwort dem Murner uff ſeine frag, ob der künig von Engllant ein Lügner ſey oder Martinus Luther." Murner appears to have divided the people of his age into rogues and fools, or perhaps he conſidered the two titles as identical. His "Narrenbeſchwerung," or Conſpiracy of Fools, in which Brandt's idea was followed up, is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed as early as 1506, but the firſt printed edition with a date, appeared in 1512. It became ſo popular, that it went through ſeveral editions during ſubſequent years; and that which I have before me was printed at Straſburg in 1518. It is, like Brandt's "Ship of Fools," a general ſatire againſt ſociety, in which the clergy are not ſpared, for the writer had not yet come in face of Luther's Reformation. The cuts are ſuperior to thoſe of Brandt's book, and ſome of them are remarkable for their deſign and execution. In one of the earlieſt of them, copied in the cut No. 139, Folly is introduced in the garb of a huſbandman, ſcattering his ſeed over the earth, the reſult of which is a very quick and flouriſhing crop, the fool's heads riſing above ground, almoſt inſtantaneouſly, like ſo many turnips. In a ſubſequent engraving, repreſented

ſented in our cut No. 140, Folly holds out, as an object of emulation, the fool's cap, and people of all claſſes, the pope himſelf, and the emperor, and all the great dignitaries of this world, preſs forward eagerly to ſeize upon it.

The ſame year (1512) witneſſed the appearance of another poetical, or at leaſt metrical, ſatire by Murner, entitled "Schelmenzunft," or the Confraternity of Rogues, ſimilarly illuſtrated with very ſpirited engravings

No. 139. *Sowing a Fruitful Crop.*

on wood. It is another demonſtration of the prevailing dominion of folly under its worſt forms, and the ſatire is equally general with the preceding. Murner's ſatire appears to have been felt not only generally, but perſonally; and we are told that he was often threatened with aſſaſſination, and he raiſed up a number of literary opponents, who treated him with no little rudeneſs; in fact, he had got on the wrong ſide of politics, or at all events on the unpopular ſide, and men who had more talents and greater weight appeared as his opponents—men like Ulrich von Utten, and Luther himſelf.

Among the ſatiriſts who eſpouſed the cauſe to which Murner was oppoſed, we muſt not overlook a man who repreſented in its ſtrongeſt features,

features, though in a rather debaſed form, the old ſpontaneous poetry of the middle ages. His name was Hans Sachs, at leaſt that was the name under which he was known, for his real name is ſaid to have been Loutrdorffer. His ſpirit was entirely that of the old wandering minſtrel, and it was ſo powerful in him, that, having been apprenticed to the craft of a weaver, he was no ſooner freed from his indentures, than he took to a vagabond life, and wandered from town to town, gaining his living by

No. 140. *An Acceptable Offering.*

ſinging the verſes he compoſed upon every occaſion which preſented itſelf. In 1519, he married and ſettled in Nüremberg, and his compoſitions were then given to the public through the preſs. The number of theſe was quite extraordinary—ſongs, ballads, ſatires, and dramatic pieces, rude in ſtyle, in accordance with the taſte of the time, but full of cleverneſs. Many of them were printed on broadſides, and illuſtrated with large engravings on wood. Hans Sachs joined in the cruſade againſt the empire of Folly, and one of his broadſides is illuſtrated with a graceful deſign, the greater part of which is copied in our cut No. 141. A party of ladies have ſet a bird-trap to catch the fools of the age, who are waiting

waiting to be caught. One fool is taken in the trap, while another is already ſecured and pinioned, and others are ruſhing into the ſnare. A number of people of the world, high in their dignities and ſtations, are looking on at this remarkable ſcene.

No. 141. *Bird-Traps.*

The evil influence of the female ſex was at this time proverbial, and, in fact, it was an age of extreme licentiouſneſs. Another poet-laureat of the time, Henricus Bebelius, born in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and rather well known in the literature of his time, publiſhed, in 1515, a ſatirical poem in Latin, under the title of "Triumphus Veneris;" which was a ſort of expoſition of the generally licentious character of the age in which he lived. It is diſtributed into ſix books, in the third of which the poet attacks the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, not ſparing the pope himſelf, and we are thereby perfectly well initiated into the weakneſſes of the clergy. Bebelius had been preceded by another writer on this part of the ſubject, and we might ſay by many, for the incontinence of monks and

and nuns, and indeed of all the clergy, had long been a ſubject of ſatire. But the writer to whom I eſpecially allude was named Paulus Olearius, his name in German being Oelſchlägel. He publiſhed, about the year 1500, a ſatirical tract, under the title of "De Fide Concubinarum in Sacerdotes." It was a bitter attack on the licentiouſneſs of the clergy, and was rendered more effective by the engravings which accompanied it. We give one of theſe as a curious picture of contemporary manners; the

No. 142. Courtſhip.

individual who comes within the range of the lady's attractions, though he may be a ſcholar, has none of the characteriſtics of a prieſt. She preſents a noſegay, which we may ſuppoſe to repreſent the influence of perfume upon the ſenſes; but the love of the ladies for pet animals is eſpecially typified in the monkey, attached by a chain. A donkey appears to ſhow by his heels his contempt for the lover.

From an early period, the Roman church had been accuſtomed to treat contemptuouſly, as well as cruelly, all who diſſented from its doctrines, or objected to its government, and this feeling was continued down to the age of the Reformation, in ſpite of the tone of liberaliſm which was beginning

to ſhine forth in the writings of ſome of its greateſt ornaments. Some reſearch among the duſty, becauſe little uſed, records of national archives and libraries would no doubt bring to light more than one ſingular caricature upon the "heretics" of the middle ages, and my attention has been called to one which is poſſeſſed of peculiar intereſt. There is, among the imperial archives of France, in Paris, among records relating to the country of the Albigeois in the thirteenth century, a copy of the bull of pope Innocent IV. giving directions for the proceedings againſt diſſenters from Romaniſm, on the back of which the ſcribe, as a mark of his contempt for theſe arch-heretics of the ſouth, has drawn a caricature of a woman bound to a ſtake over the fire which is to burn her as an open opponent of the church of Rome. The choice of a woman for the victim was perhaps intended to ſhow that the proſelytiſm of hereſy was eſpecially ſucceſsful among the weaker ſex, or that it was conſidered as having ſome relation to witchcraft. It is, by a long period, the earlieſt known pictorial repreſentation of the puniſhment of burning inflicted on a heretic.

No. 143. *Burning a Heretic.*

The ſhafts of ſatire were early employed againſt Luther and his new principles, and men like Murner, already mentioned, Emſer, Cochlæus, and others, ſignaliſed themſelves by their zeal in the papal cauſe. As already ſtated, Murner diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the literary ally of our king Henry VIII. The taſte for ſatirical writings had then become ſo general, that Murner complains in one of his ſatires that the printers would print nothing but abuſive or ſatirical works, and neglected his more ſerious writings.

Da findt die trucker ſchuld daran,
Die trucken als die Gauchereien,
Und laſſen mein ernſtliche bücher leihen.

Some

Some of Murner's writings againſt Luther, moſt of which are now very rare, are extremely violent, and they are generally illuſtrated with ſatirical woodcuts. One of theſe books, printed without name of place or date, is entitled, "Of the great Lutheran Fool, how Doctor Murner has exorciſed him" (*Von dem groſſen Lutheriſtchen Narren, wie in Doctor Murner beſchworen hat*). In the woodcuts to this book Murner himſelf is introduced, as is uſually the caſe in theſe ſatirical engravings, under the character of a Franciſcan friar, with the head of a cat, while Luther appears as a fat and jolly monk, wearing a fool's cap, and figuring in various ridiculous circumſtances. In one of the firſt woodcuts, the cat Franciſcan is drawing a rope ſo tight round the great Lutheran fool's neck, that he compels him to diſgorge a multitude of ſmaller fools. In another the great Lutheran fool has his purſe, or pouch, full of little fools ſuſpended at his girdle. This latter figure is copied in the cut No. 144, as an example of the form under which the great reformer appears in theſe ſatirical repreſentations.

No. 144. *Folly in Monaſtic Habit.*

In a few other caricatures of this period which have been preſerved, the apoſtle of the Reformation is attacked ſtill more ſavagely. The one here given (Fig. 145), taken from a contemporary engraving on wood, preſents a rather fantaſtic figure of the demon playing on the bagpipes. The inſtrument is formed of Luther's head, the pipe through which the devil blows entering his ear, and that through which the muſic is produced forming an elongation of the reformer's noſe. It was a broad intimation that Luther was a mere tool of the evil one, created for the purpoſe of bringing miſchief into the world.

The reformers, however, were more than a match for their opponents in this ſort of warfare. Luther himſelf was full of comic and ſatiric humour,

humour, and a maſs of the talent of that age was ranged on his ſide, both literary and artiſtic. After the reformer's marriage, the papal party quoted the old legend, that Antichriſt was to be born of the union of a monk and a nun, and it was intimated that if Luther himſelf could not be directly identified with Antichriſt, he had, at leaſt, a fair chance of becoming his parent. But the reformers had reſolved, on what appeared to be much more concluſive evidence, that Antichriſt was

No. 145. *The Muſic of the Demon.*

only emblematical of the papacy, that under this form he had been long dominant on earth, and that the end of his reign was then approaching. A remarkable pamphlet, deſigned to place this idea pictorially before the public, was produced from the pencil of Luther's friend, the celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, and appeared in the year 1521 under the title of "The Paſſionale of Chriſt and Antichriſt" (*Paſſional Chriſti und Antichriſti*). It is a ſmall quarto, each page of which is nearly filled by a woodcut, having a few lines of explanation in German below. The cut

to

to the left repreſents ſome incident in the life of Chriſt, while that facing it to the right gives a contraſting fact in the hiſtory of papal tyranny. Thus the firſt cut on the left repreſents Jeſus in His humility, refuſing earthly dignities and power, while on the adjoining page we ſee the pope, with his cardinals and biſhops, ſupported by his hoſts of warriors, his cannon, and his fortifications, in his temporal dominion over ſecular

No. 146. *The Deſcent of the Pope.*

princes. When we open again we ſee on one ſide Chriſt crowned with thorns by the inſulting ſoldiery, and on the other the pope, enthroned in all his worldly glory, exacting the worſhip of his courtiers. On another we have Chriſt waſhing the feet of His diſciples, and in contraſt the pope compelling the emperor to kiſs his toe. And ſo on, through a number of curious illuſtrations, until at laſt we come to Chriſt's aſcenſion into heaven,

in

in contraſt with which a troop of demons, of the moſt varied and ſingular forms, have ſeized upon the papal Antichriſt, and are caſting him down into the flames of hell, where ſome of his own monks wait to receive him. This laſt picture is drawn with ſo much ſpirit, that I have copied it in the cut No. 146.

The monſtrous figures of animals which had amuſed the ſculptors and miniaturiſts of an earlier period came in time to be looked upon as realities, and were not only regarded with wonder as phyſical deformities, but were objects of ſuperſtition, for they were believed to be ſent into the world as warnings of great revolutions and calamities. During the age preceding the Reformation, the reports of the births or diſcoveries of ſuch monſters were very common, and engravings of them were no doubt profitable articles of merchandiſe among the early book-hawkers. Two of theſe were very celebrated in the time of the Reformation, the Pope-aſs and the Monk-calf, and were publiſhed and republiſhed with an explanation under the names of Luther and Melancthon, which made them emblematical of the Papacy and of the abuſes of the Romiſh church, and, of courſe, prognoſtications of their approaching expoſure and fall. It was pretended that the Pope-aſs was found dead in the river Tiber, at Rome, in the year 1496. It is repreſented in our cut No. 147, taken from an engraving preſerved in a very curious volume of broadſide Lutheran caricatures, in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum, all belonging to the year 1545, though this deſign had been publiſhed many years before. The head of an aſs, we are told, repreſented the pope himſelf, with his falſe and carnal doctrines. The right hand reſembled the foot of an elephant, ſignifying the ſpiritual power of the pope, which was heavy, and ſtamped down and cruſhed people's

No. 147. The Pope-aſs.

people's conſciences. The left hand was that of a man, ſignifying the worldly power of the pope, which graſped at univerſal empire over kings and princes. The right foot was that of an ox, ſignifying the ſpiritual miniſters of the papacy, the doctors of the church, the preachers, confeſſors, and ſcholaſtic theologians, and eſpecially the monks and nuns, thoſe who aided and ſupported the pope in oppreſſing people's bodies and ſouls. The left foot was that of a griffin, an animal which, when it once ſeizes its prey, never lets it eſcape, and ſignified the canoniſts, the monſters of the pope's temporal power, who graſped people's temporal goods, and never returned them. The breaſt and belly of this monſter were thoſe of a woman, and ſignified the papal body, the cardinals, biſhops, prieſts, monks, &c., who ſpent their lives in eating, drinking, and incontinence; and this part of the body was naked, becauſe the popiſh clergy were not aſhamed to expoſe their vices to the public. The legs, arms, and neck, on the contrary, were clothed with fiſhes' ſcales; theſe ſignified the temporal princes and lords, who were moſtly in alliance with the papacy. The old man's head behind the monſter, meant that the papacy had become old, and was approaching its end; and the head of a dragon, vomiting flames, which ſerved for a tail, was ſignificative of the great threats, the venomous horrible bulls and blaſphemous writings, which the pontiff and his miniſters, enraged at ſeeing their end approach, were launching into the world againſt all who oppoſed them. Theſe explanations were ſupported by apt quotations from the Scriptures, and were ſo effective, and became ſo popular, that the picture was publiſhed in various ſhapes, and was ſeen adorning the walls of the humbleſt cottages. I believe it is ſtill to be met with in a ſimilar poſition in ſome parts of Germany. It was conſidered at the time to be a maſterly piece of ſatire. The picture of the Monk-calf, which is repreſented in our cut No. 148, was

No. 148. The Monk-Calf.

was publiſhed at the ſame time, and uſually accompanies it. This monſter is ſaid to have been born at Freyburg, in Miſnia, and is ſimply a rather coarſe emblem of the monachal character.

The volume of caricatures juſt mentioned contains ſeveral ſatires on the pope, which are all very ſevere, and many of them clever. One has a movable leaf, which covers the upper part of the picture; when it is down, we have a repreſentation of the pope in his ceremonial robes, and

No. 149. The Head of the Papacy.

over it the inſcription ALEX . VI . PONT . MAX. Pope Alexander VI. was the infamous Roderic Borgia, a man ſtained with all the crimes and vices which ſtrike moſt horror into men's minds. When the leaf is raiſed, another figure joins itſelf with the lower part of the former, and repreſents a papal demon, crowned, the croſs being transformed into an inſtrument of infernal puniſhment. This figure is repreſented in our cut No. 149.

Above

Above it are inſcribed the words EGO . SVM . PAPA, "I am the Pope." Attached to it is a page of explanation in German, in which the legend of that pope's death is given, a legend that his wicked life appeared ſufficient to ſanction. It was ſaid that, diſtruſting the ſucceſs of his intrigues to ſecure the papacy for himſelf, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the black art, and ſold himſelf to the Evil One. He then aſked the tempter if it were his deſtiny to be pope, and received an anſwer in the affirmative. He next inquired how long he ſhould hold the papacy, but Satan returned an equivocal and deceptive anſwer, for Borgia underſtood that he was to be pope fifteen years, whereas he died at the end of eleven. It is well known that Pope Alexander VI. died ſuddenly and unexpectedly through accidentally drinking the poiſoned wine he had prepared with his own hand for the murder of another man.

An Italian theatine wrote a poem againſt the Reformation, in which he made Luther the offspring of Megæra, one of the furies, who is repreſented as having been ſent from hell into Germany to be delivered of him. This ſarcaſm was thrown back upon the pope with much greater effect by the Lutheran caricaturiſts. One of the plates in the above-mentioned volume repreſents the "birth and origin of the pope" (*ortus et origo papæ*), making the pope identical with Antichriſt. In different groups, in this rather elaborate deſign, the child is repreſented as attended by the three furies, Megæra acting as his wet-nurſe, Alecto as nurſery-maid, and Tiſiphone in another capacity, &c. The name of Martin Luther is added to this caricature alſo.

No 150 *The Pope's Nurſe.*

Hie wird geborn der Widerchriſt.
Megera ſein Seugamme iſt;
Alecto ſein Keindermeidlin,
Tiſiphone die gengelt im.—M. Luth., D. 1545.

One of the groups in this plate, repreſenting the fury, Megæra, a

 becoming

becoming foſter-mother, ſuckling the pope-infant, is given in our cut, No. 150.

No. 151. The Pope giving the Tune.

In another of theſe caricatures the pope is repreſented trampling on the emperor, to ſhow the manner in which he uſurped and tyranniſed over the temporal power. Another illuſtrates "the kingdom of Satan and the Pope" (*regnum Satanæ et Papæ*), and the latter is repreſented as preſiding over hell-mouth in all his ſtate. One, given in our cut No. 151, repreſents the pope under the form of an aſs playing on the bagpipes, and is entitled *Papa doctor theologiæ et magiſter fidei.* Four lines of German verſe beneath the engraving ſtate how "the pope can alone expound Scripture and purge error, juſt as the aſs alone can pipe and touch the notes correctly."

Der Bapſt kan allein auſlegen
Die Schrifft, und irthum ausfegen;
Wie der eſel allein pfeiffen
Kan, und die noten recht greiffen.—1545.

This was the laſt year of Luther's active labours. At the commencement of the year following he died at Eiſſleben, whither he had gone to attend the council of princes. Theſe caricatures may perhaps be conſidered as ſo many proclamations of ſatisfaction and exultation in the final triumph of the great reformer.

Books, pamphlets, and prints of this kind were multiplied to an extraordinary degree during the age of the Reformation, but the majority of them were in the intereſt of the new movement. Luther's opponent, Eckius, complained of the infinite number of people who gained their

living

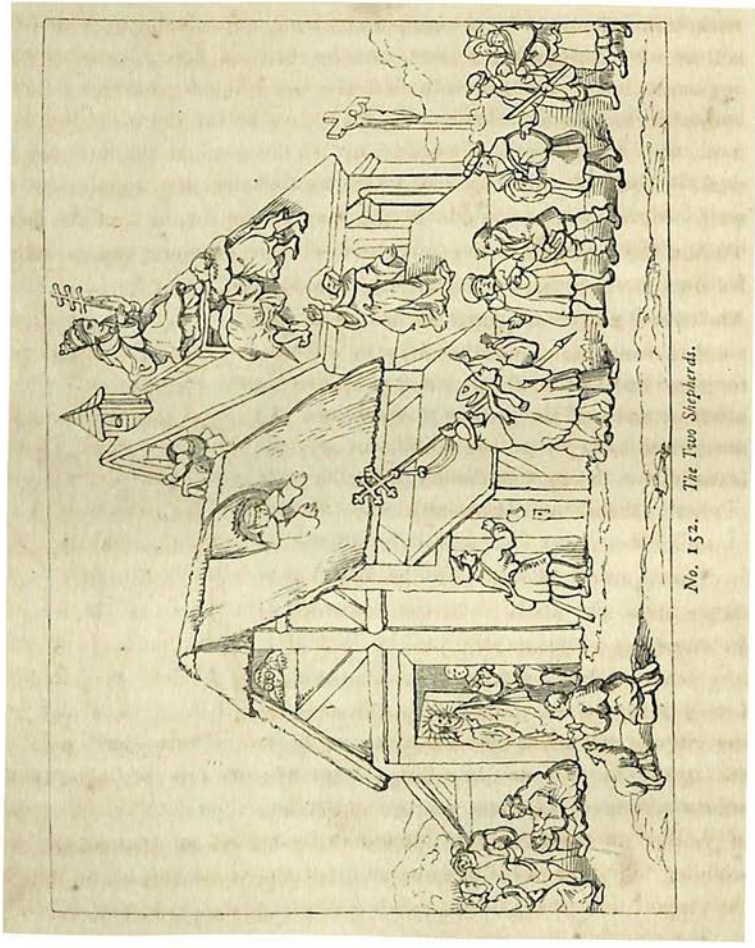
living by wandering over all parts of Germany, and ſelling Lutheran books.* Among thoſe who adminiſtered largely to this circulation of polemic books was the poet of farces, comedies, and ballads, Hans Sachs, already mentioned. Hans Sachs had in one poem, publiſhed in 1535, celebrated Luther under the title of "the Wittemberg Nightingale:"—

Die Wittembergiſch' Nachtigall,
Die man jetzt höret überall;

and deſcribed the effects of his ſong over all the other animals; and he publiſhed, alſo in verſe, what he called a Monument, or Lament, on his death ("Ein Denkmal oder Klagred' ob der Leiche Doktors Martin Luther"). Among the numerous broadſides publiſhed by Hans Sachs, one contains the very clever caricature of which we give a copy in our cut No. 152. It is entitled "Der gut Hirt und böſs Hirt," the good ſhepherd and bad ſhepherd, and has for its text the opening verſes of the tenth chapter of the goſpel of St. John. The good and bad ſhepherds are, as may be ſuppoſed, Chriſt and the pope. The church is here pictured as a not very ſtately building; the entrance, eſpecially, is a plain ſtructure of timber. Jeſus ſaid to the Phariſees, "He that entereth not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door is the ſhepherd of the flock." In the engraving, the pope, as the hireling ſhepherd, ſits on the roof of the ſtateſieſt part of the building, pointing out to the Chriſtian flock the wrong way, and bleſſing the climbers. Under him two men of worldly diſtinction are making their way into the church through a window; and on a roof below a friar is pointing to the people the way up. At another window a monk holds out his arms to invite people up; and one in ſpectacles, no doubt emblematical of the doctors of the church, is looking out from an opening over the entrance door to watch the proceedings of the Good Shepherd. To the right

* "Infinitus jam erat numerus qui victum ex Lutheranis libris quæritantes, in speciem bibliopolarum longe lateque per Germaniæ provincias vagabantur."—Eck., p. 58.

right, on the papal ſide of the church, the lords and great men are bringing the people under their influence, till they are ſtopped by the



No. 152. *The Two Shepherds.*

cardinals and biſhops, who prevent them from going forward to the door and point out very energetically the way up the roof At the door ſtands, the

the Saviour, as the good ſhepherd, who has knocked, and the porter has opened it with his key. Chriſt's true teachers, the evangeliſts, ſhow the way to the ſolitary man of worth who comes by this road, and who liſtens with calm attention to the goſpel teachers, while he opens his purſe to beſtow his charity on the poor man by the road ſide. In the original engraving, in the diſtance on the left, the Good Shepherd is ſeen followed by his flock, who are obedient to his voice; on the right, the bad ſhepherd, who has oſtentatiouſly drawn up his ſheep round the image of the croſs, is abandoning them, and taking to flight on the approach of the wolf. "He that entereth in by the door is the ſhepherd of the ſheep. To him the porter openeth; and the ſheep hear his voice, and he calleth his own ſheep by name, and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own ſheep he goeth before them, and the ſheep follow him, for they know his voice. . . . But he that is an hireling, and not the ſhepherd, whoſe own the ſheep are not, ſeeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the ſheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and ſcattereth the ſheep." (John x. 2—4, 12.)

No. 153 *Murner and Luther's Daughter.*

The triumph of Luther is the ſubject of a rather large and elaborate caricature, which is an engraving of great rarity, but a copy of it is given in Jaime's "Muſée de Caricature." Leo X. is repreſented ſeated on his throne upon the edge of the abyſs, into which his cardinals are trying to prevent his falling; but their efforts are rendered vain by the appearance of Luther on the other ſide ſupported by his principal adherents, and wielding the Bible as his weapon, and the pope is overthrown, in ſpite of the ſupport he receives from a vaſt hoſt of popiſh clergy, doctors, &c.

The popiſh writers againſt Luther charged him with vices for which there was probably no foundation, and invented the moſt ſcandalous ſtories againſt him. They accuſed him, among other things, of drunkenneſs and licentiouſneſs;

licentiouſneſs; and there may, perhaps, be ſome alluſion to the latter charge in our cut No. 153, which is taken from one of the comic illuſtrations to Murner's book, "Von dem groſſen Lutheriſchen Narren," which was publiſhed in 1522; but, at all events, it will ſerve as a ſpecimen of theſe illuſtrations, and of Murner's fancy of repreſenting himſelf with the head of a cat. In 1525, Luther married a nun who had turned Proteſtant and quitted her convent, named Catherine de Bora, and this became the ſignal to his opponents for indulging in abuſive ſongs, and ſatires, and caricatures, moſt of them too coarſe and indelicate to be deſcribed in theſe pages. In many of the caricatures made on this occaſion, which are uſually woodcut illuſtrations to books written againſt the reformer, Luther is repreſented dancing with Catherine de Bora, or ſitting at table with a glaſs in his hand. An engraving of this kind, which forms one of the illuſtrations to a work by Dr. Konrad Wimpina, one of the reformer's violent opponents, repreſents Luther's marriage. It is divided into three compartments; to the left, Luther, whom the Catholics always repreſented in the character of a monk, gives the marriage ring to Catherine de Bora, and above them, in a ſort of aureole, is inſcribed the word *Vovete;* on the right appears the nuptial bed, with the curtains drawn, and the inſcription *Reddite;* and in the middle the monk and nun are dancing joyouſly together, and over their heads we read the words—

Diſcedat ab aris
Cui tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus.

While Luther was heroically fighting the great fight of reform in Germany, the foundation of religious reform was laid in France by John Calvin, a man equally ſincere and zealous in the cauſe, but of a totally different temper, and he eſpouſed doctrines and forms of church government which a Lutheran would not admit. Literary ſatire was uſed with great effect by the French Calviniſts againſt their popiſh opponents, but they have left us few caricatures or burleique engravings of any kind; at leaſt, very few belonging to the earlier period of their hiſtory. Jaime, in his "Muſée de Caricature," has given a copy of a very rare plate, repreſenting the pope ſtruggling with Luther and Calvin, as his two aſſailants. Both

Both are tearing the pope's hair, but it is Calvin who is here armed with the Bible, with which he is ſtriking at Luther, who is pulling him by the beard. The pope has his hands upon their heads. This ſcene takes

No. 154. Luther and Calvin.

place in the choir of a church, but I give here (cut No. 154) only the group of the three combatants, intended to repreſent how the two great opponents to papal corruptions were hoſtile at the ſame time to each other.

CHAPTER XVI.

ORIGIN OF MEDIÆVAL FARCE AND MODERN COMEDY.—HROTSVITHA.—MEDIÆVAL NOTIONS OF TERENCE.—THE EARLY RELIGIOUS PLAYS.—MYSTERIES AND MIRACLE PLAYS.—THE FARCES.—THE DRAMA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE is still another branch of literature which, however it may have been modified, has descended to us from the middle ages. It has been remarked more than once in the course of this book, that the theatre of the Romans perished in the transition from the empire to the middle ages; but something in the shape of theatrical performances appears to be inseparable from society even in its most barbarous state, and we soon trace among the peoples who had settled upon the ruins of the empire of Rome an approach towards a drama. It is worthy of remark, too, that the mediæval drama originated exactly in the same way as that of ancient Greece, that is, from religious ceremonies.

Such was the ignorance of the ancient stage in the middle ages, that the meaning of the word *comœdia* was not understood. The Anglo-Saxon glossaries interpret the word by *racu*, a narrative, especially an epic recital, and this was the sense in which it was generally taken until late in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. It is the sense in which it is used in the title of Dante's great poem, the "Divina Commedia." When the mediæval scholars became acquainted in manuscripts with the comedies of Terence, they considered them only as fine examples of a particular sort of literary composition, as metrical narratives in dialogue, and in this feeling they began to imitate them. One of the first of these

mediæval

mediæval imitators was a lady. There lived in the tenth century a maiden of Saxony, named Hrotſvitha—a rather unfortunate name for one of her ſex, for it means ſimply "a loud noiſe of voices," or, as ſhe explains it herſelf, in her Latin, *clamor validus*. Hrotſvitha, as was common enough among the ladies of thoſe days, had received a very learned education, and her Latin is very reſpectable. About the middle of the tenth century, ſhe became a nun in the very ariſtocratic Benedictine abbey of Gandeſheim, in Saxony, the abbeſſes of which were all princeſſes, and which had been founded only a century before. She wrote in Latin verſe a ſhort hiſtory of that religious houſe, but ſhe is beſt known by ſeven pieces, which are called comedies (*comœdiæ*), and which conſiſt ſimply of legends of ſaints, told dialogue-wiſe, ſome in verſe and ſome in proſe. As may be ſuppoſed, there is not much of real comedy in theſe compoſitions, although one of them, the Dulcitius, is treated in a ſtyle which approaches that of farce. It is the ſtory of the martyrdom of the three virgin ſaints—Agape, Chione, and Irene—who excite the luſt of the perſecutor Dulcitius; and it may be remarked, that in this "comedy," and in that of Callimachus and one or two of the others, the lady Hrotſvitha diſplays a knowledge of love-making and of the language of love, which was hardly to be expected from a holy nun.*

Hrotſvitha, in her preface, complains that, in ſpite of the general love for the reading of the Scriptures, and contempt for everything derived from ancient paganiſm, people ſtill too often read the "fictions" of Terence, and thus, ſeduced by the beauties of his ſtyle, ſoiled their minds with the knowledge of the criminal acts which are deſcribed in his writings. A rather early manuſcript has preſerved a very curious fragment illuſtrative of

* Several editions of the writings of Hrotsvitha, texts and translations, have been published of late years both in Germany and in France, of which I may point out the following as most useful and complete—"Théatre de Hrotsvitha, Religieuse Allemande du x^e^ siècle. . . . par Charles Magnin," 8vo., Paris, 1845; "Hrotsvithæ Gandeshemensis, virginis et monialis Germanicæ, gente Saxonica ortæ, Comœdias sex, ad fidem codicis Emmeranensis typis expressas edidit. . . . J. Benedixen," 16mo., Lubecæ, 1857; "Die Werke der Hrotsvitha: Herausgegeben von Dr. K. A. Barack," 8vo., Nürnberg, 1858.

of the manner in which the comedies of the Romans were regarded by one class of people in the middle ages, and it has also a further meaning. Its form is that of a dialogue in Latin verse between Terence and a personage called in the original *delusor*, which was no doubt intended to express a performer of some kind, and may be probably considered as synonymous with *jougleur*. It is a contention between the new jouglerie of the middle ages and the old jouglerie of the schools, somewhat in the same style as the fabliau of "Les deux Troveors Ribauz," described in a former chapter.* We are to suppose that the name of Terence has been in some way or other brought forward in laudatory terms, upon which the jougleur steps forward from among the spectators and expresses himself towards the Roman writer very contemptuously. Terence then makes his appearance to speak in his own defence, and the two go on abusing one another in no very measured language. Terence asks his assailant who he is? to which the other replies, "If you ask who I am, I reply, I am better than thee. Thou art old and broken with years; I am a tyro, full of vigour, and in the force of youth. You are but a barren trunk, while I am a good and fertile tree. If you hold your tongue, old fellow, it will be much better for you."

Si rogitas quis sum, respondeo: te melior sum.
Tu vetus atque senex; ego tyro, valens, adulescens.
Tu sterilis truncus; ego fertilis arbor; opimus.
Si taceas, o vetule, lucrum tibi quæris enorme.

Terence replies:—"What sense have you left? Are you, think you, better than me? Let me see you, young as you are, compose what I, however old and broken, will compose. If you be a good tree, show us some proofs of your fertility. Although I may be a barren trunk, I produce abundance of better fruit than thine."

Quis tibi sensus inest? numquid melior me es?
Nunc vetus atque senex quæ fecero fac adolescens.
Si bonus arbor ades, qua fertilitate redundas?
Cum sim truncus iners, fructu meliore redundo.

And

* See p. 191 of the present volume.

And so the dispute continues, but unfortunately the latter part has been lost with a leaf or two of the manuscript. I will only add that I think the age of this curious piece has been overrated.*

Hrotsvitha is the earliest example we have of mediæval writers in this particular class of literature. We find no other until the twelfth century, when two writers flourished named Vital of Blois (*Vitalis Blesensis*) and Matthew of Vendôme (*Matthæus Vindocinensis*), the authors of several of the mediæval poems distinguished by the title of *comœdiæ*, which give us a clearer and more distinct idea of what was meant by the word. They are written in Latin Elegiac verse, a form of composition which was very popular among the mediæval scholars, and consist of stories told in dialogue. Hence Professor Osann, of Giessen, who edited two of those of Vital of Blois, gives them the title of eclogues (*eclogæ*). The name comedy is, however, given to them in manuscripts, and it may perhaps admit of the following explanation. These pieces seem to have been first mere abridgments of the plots of the Roman comedies, especially those of Plautus, and the authors appear to have taken the Latin title of the original as applied to the plot, in the sense of a narrative, and not to its dramatic form. Of the two "comedies" by Vital of Blois, one is entitled "Geta," and is taken from the "Amphytrio" of Plautus, and the other, which in the manuscripts bears the title of "Querulus," represents the "Aulularia" of the same writer. Independent of the form of composition, the scholastic writer has given a strangely mediæval turn to the incidents of the classic story of Jupiter and Alcmena. Another similar "comedy," that of Babio, which I first printed from the manuscripts, is still more mediæval in character. Its plot, perhaps taken from a fabliau, for the mediæval writers rarely invented stories, is as follows, although it must be confessed that it comes out rather obscurely in the dialogue itself. Babio, the hero of the piece, is a priest, who, as was still common at that time (the twelfth

* This singular composition was published with notes by M. de Montaiglon, in a Parisian journal entitled, "L'Amateur de Livres," in 1849, under the title of "Fragment d'un Dialogue Latin du ixe siècle entre Terence et un Bouffon." A few separate copies were printed, of which I possess one.

twelfth century), has a wife, or, as the ſtrict religioniſts would then ſay, a concubine, named Pecula. She has a daughter named Viola, with whom Babio is in love, and he purſues his deſign upon her, of courſe unknown to his wife. Babio has alſo a man-ſervant named Fodius, who is engaged in a ſecret intrigue with his miſtreſs, Pecula, and alſo ſeeks to ſeduce her daughter, Viola. To crown the whole, the lord of the manor, a knight named Croceus, is alſo in love with Viola, though with more honourable deſigns. Here is ſurely intrigue enough and a ſufficient abſence of morality to ſatisfy a modern French noveliſt of the firſt water. At the opening of the piece, amid ſome by-play between the four individuals who form the houſehold of Babio, it is ſuddenly announced that Croceus is on his way to viſit him, and a feaſt is haſtily prepared for his reception. It ends in the knight carrying away Viola by force. Babio, after a little vain bluſter, conſoles himſelf for the loſs of the damſel with reflections on the virtue of his wife, Pecula, and the faithfulneſs of his man, Fodius, when, at this moment, Fame carries to his ear reports which excite his ſuſpicions againſt them. He adopts a ſtratagem very frequently introduced in the mediæval ſtories, ſurpriſes the two lovers under circumſtances which leave no room for doubting their guilt, and then forgives them, enters a monaſtery, and leaves them to themſelves. In form, theſe "comedies" are little more than ſcholaſtic exerciſes; but, at a later period, we ſhall ſee the ſame ſtories adopted as the ſubjects of farces.*

Already, however, by the ſide of theſe dramatic poems, a real drama —the drama of the middle ages—was gradually developing itſelf. As ſtated before, it aroſe, like the drama of the Greeks, out of the religious ceremonies. We know nothing of the exiſtence of anything approaching to dramatic forms which may have exiſted among the religious rites of the

* To judge by the number of copies found in manuscripts, especially of the "Geta," these dramatic poems must have enjoyed considerable popularity. The "Geta" and the "Querulus" were published in a volume entitled, "Vitalis Blesensis Amphitryon et Aulularia Eclogæ. Edidit Fridericus Osannus, Professor Gisensis," 8vo., Darmstadt, 1836. The "Geta" and the "Babio" are included in my "Early Mysteries, and other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."

the peoples of the Teutonic race before their converſion to Chriſtianity, but the Chriſtian clergy felt the neceſſity of keeping up feſtive religious ceremonies in ſome form or other, and alſo of impreſſing upon people's imagination and memory by means of rude ſcenical repreſentations ſome of the broader facts of ſcriptural and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Theſe performances at firſt conſiſted probably in mere dumb ſhow, or at the moſt the performers may have chanted the ſcriptural account of the tranſaction they were repreſenting. In this manner the choral boys, or the younger clergy, would, on ſome ſpecial ſaint's day, perform ſome ſtriking act in the life of the ſaint commemorated, or, on particular feſtivals of the church, thoſe incidents of goſpel hiſtory to which the feſtival eſpecially related. By degrees, a rather more impoſing character was given to theſe performances by the addition of a continuous dialogue, which, however, was written in Latin verſe, and was no doubt chanted. This incipient drama in Latin, as far as we know it, belongs to the twelfth century, and is repreſented by a tolerably large number of examples ſtill preſerved in mediæval manuſcripts. Some of the earlieſt of theſe have for their author a pupil of the celebrated Abelard, named Hilarius, who lived in the firſt half of the twelfth century, and is underſtood to have been by birth an Engliſhman. Hilarius appears before us as a playful Latin poet, and among a number of ſhort pieces, which may be almoſt called lyric, he has left us three of theſe religious plays. The ſubject of the firſt of theſe is the raiſing of Lazarus from the dead, the chief peculiarity of which conſiſts of the ſongs of lamentation placed in the mouths of the two ſiſters of Lazarus, Mary and Martha. The ſecond repreſents one of the miracles attributed to St. Nicholas; and the third, the hiſtory of Daniel. The latter is longer and more elaborate than the others, and at its concluſion, the ſtage direction tells us that, if it were performed at matins, Darius, king of the Medes and Perſians, was to chant *Te Deum Laudamus*, but if it were at veſpers, the great king was to chant *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*.*

That

* "Hilarii Versus et Ludi," 8vo., Paris, 1835. Edited by M. Champollion Figeac.

That this mediæval drama was not derived from that of the Roman is evident from the circumſtance that entirely new terms were applied to it. The weſtern people in the middle ages had no words exactly equivalent with the Latin *comœdia, tragœdia, theatrum*, &c.; and even the Latiniſts, to deſignate the dramatic pieces performed at the church feſtivals, employed the word *ludus*, a play. The French called them by a word having exactly the ſame meaning, *jeu* (from *jocus*). Similarly in Engliſh they were termed *plays*. The Anglo-Saxon gloſſaries preſent as the repreſentative of the Latin *theatrum*, the compounded words *plege-ſtow*, or *pleg-ſtow*, a play-place, and *pleg-hus*, a play-houſe. It is curious that we Engliſhmen have preſerved to the preſent time the Anglo-Saxon words in *play, player*, and *play-houſe*. Another Anglo-Saxon word with exactly the ſame ſignification, *lac*, or *gelac*, play, appears to have been more in uſe in the dialect of the Northumbrians, and a Yorkſhireman ſtill calls a play a *lake*, and a player a *laker*. So alſo the Germans called a dramatic performance a *ſpil*, *i.e.* a play, the modern *ſpiel*, and a theatre, a *ſpil-hus*. One of the pieces of Hilarius is thus entitled "Ludus ſuper iconia ſancti Nicolai," and the French *jeu* and the Engliſh *play* are conſtantly uſed in the ſame ſenſe. But beſides this general term, words gradually came into uſe to characteriſe different ſorts of plays. The church plays conſiſted of two deſcriptions of ſubjects, they either repreſented the miraculous acts of certain ſaints, which had a plain meaning, or ſome incident taken from the Holy Scriptures, which was ſuppoſed to have a hidden myſterious ſignification as well as an apparent one, and hence the one claſs of ſubject was uſually ſpoken of ſimply as *miraculum*, a miracle, and the other as *myſterium*, a myſtery. *Myſteries* and *miracle-plays* are ſtill the names uſually given to the old religious plays by writers on the hiſtory of the ſtage.

We have a proof that the Latin religious plays, and the feſtivities in which they were employed, had become greatly developed in the twelfth century, in the notice taken of them in the eccleſiaſtical councils of that period, for they were diſapproved by the ſtricter church diſciplinarians. So early as the papacy of Gregory VIII., the pope urged the clergy to "extirpate" from their churches theatrical plays, and other feſtive

practices

practices which were not quite in harmony with the ſacred character of theſe buildings.* Such performances are forbidden by a council held at Treves in 1227.† We learn from the annals of the abbey of Corbei, publiſhed by Leibnitz, that the younger monks at Hereſburg performed on one occaſion a "ſacred comedy" (*sacram comœdiam*) of the felling into captivity and the exaltation of Joſeph, which was diſapproved by the other heads of the order.‡ Such performances are included in a proclamation of the biſhop of Worms, in 1316, againſt the various abuſes which had crept into the feſtivities obſerved in his dioceſe at Eaſter and St. John's tide.§ Similar prohibitions of the acting of ſuch plays in churches are met with at ſubſequent periods.

While theſe performances were thus falling under the cenſure of the church authorities, they were taken up by the laity, and under their management both the plays and the machinery for acting them underwent conſiderable extenſion. The municipal guilds contained in their conſtitution a conſiderable amount of religious ſpirit. They were great benefactors of the churches in cities and municipal towns, and had uſually ſome parts of the ſacred edifice appropriated to them, and they may, perhaps, have taken a part in theſe performances, while they were ſtill confined to the church. Theſe guilds, and ſubſequently the municipal corporations, took them entirely into their own hands. Certain annual religious feſtivals, and eſpecially the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, were ſtill the occaſions on which the plays were acted, but they were taken entirely from the churches, and the performances took place in the open ſtreets. Each guild had its particular play, and they acted on movable ſtages, which were dragged along the ſtreets in the proceſſion of the guild. Theſe ſtages appear to have been rather complicated. They were

* "Interdum ludi fiunt in ecclesiis theatrales," &c.—*Decret. Gregorii*, lib iii. tit. i.

† "Item non permittant sacerdotes ludos theatrales fieri in ecclesia et alios ludos inhonestos."

‡ "Juniores fratres in Heresburg sacram habuere comœdiam de Josepho vendito et exaltato, quod vero reliqui ordinis nostri prælati male interpretati sunt."—*Leibn., Script. Brunsw.*, tom. ii. p. 311.

§ The acts of this synod of Worms are printed in Harzheim, tom. iv. p. 258.

were divided into three floors, that in the middle, which was the principal ſtage, repreſenting this world, while the upper diviſion repreſented heaven, and that at the bottom hell. The mediæval writers in Latin called this machinery a *pegma*, from the Greek word πῆγμα, a ſcaffold; and they alſo applied to it, for a reaſon which is not ſo eaſily ſeen, unleſs the one word aroſe out of a corruption of the other; that of *pagina*, and from a further corruption of theſe came into the French and Engliſh languages the word *pageant*, which originally ſignified one of theſe movable ſtages, though it has ſince received ſecondary meanings which have a much wider application. Each guild in a town had its pageant and its own actors, who performed in maſks and coſtumes, and each had one of a ſeries of plays, which were performed at places where they halted in the proceſſion. The ſubjects of theſe plays were taken from Scripture, and they uſually formed a regular ſeries of the principal hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtaments. For this reaſon they were generally termed *myſteries*, a title already explained; and among the few ſeries of theſe plays ſtill preſerved, we have the "Coventry Myſteries," which were performed by the guilds of that town, the "Cheſter Myſteries," belonging to the guilds in the city of Cheſter, and the "Towneley Myſteries," ſo called from the name of the poſſeſſor of the manuſcript, but which probably belonged to the guilds of Wakefield in Yorkſhire.

During theſe changes in the method of performance, the plays themſelves had alſo been conſiderably modified. The ſimple Latin phraſes, even when in rhyme, which formed the dialogue of the earlier *ludi*—as in the four miracles of St. Nicholas, and the ſix Latin myſteries taken from the New Teſtament, printed in my volume of "Early Myſteries and other Latin Poems"—muſt have been very unintereſting to the maſs of the ſpectators, and an attempt was made to enliven them by introducing among the Latin phraſes popular proverbs, or even ſometimes a ſong in the vulgar tongue. Thus in the play of "Lazarus" by Hilarius, the Latin of the lamentations of his two ſiſters is intermixed with French verſes. Such is the caſe alſo with the play of "St. Nicholas" by the ſame writer, as well as with the curious myſtery of the Fooliſh Virgins, printed in my "Early Myſteries" juſt alluded to, in which latter the Latin is intermingled

intermingled with Provençal verſe. A much greater advance was made when theſe performances were transferred to the guilds. The Latin was then diſcarded altogether, and the whole play was written in French, or Engliſh, or German, as the caſe might be, the plot was made more elaborate, and the dialogue greatly extended. But now that the whole inſtitution had become ſeculariſed, the want of ſomething to amuſe people—to make them laugh, as people liked to laugh in the middle ages—was felt more than ever, and this want was ſupplied by the introduction of droll and ludicrous ſcenes, which are often very ſlightly, if at all, connected with the ſubject of the play. In one of the earlieſt of the French plays, that of "St. Nicholas," by Jean Bodel, the characters who form the burleſque ſcene are a party of gamblers in a tavern. In others, robbers, or peaſants, or beggars form the comic ſcene, or vulgar women: or any perſonages who could be introduced acting vulgarly and uſing coarſe language, for theſe were great incitements to mirth among the populace.

In the Engliſh plays now remaining, theſe ſcenes are, on the whole, leſs frequent, and they are uſually more cloſely connected with the general ſubject. The earlieſt Engliſh collection that has been publiſhed is that known as the "Towneley Myſteries," the manuſcript of which belongs to the fifteenth century, and the plays themſelves may have been compoſed in the latter part of the fourteenth. It contains thirty-two plays, beginning with the Creation, and ending with the Aſcenſion and the Day of Judgment, with two ſupplementary plays, the "Raiſing of Lazarus" and the "Hanging of Judas." The play of "Cain and Abel" is throughout a vulgar drollery, in which Cain, who exhibits the character of a bluſtering ruffian, is accompanied by a *garcio*, or lad, who is the very type of a vulgar and inſolent horſe-boy, and the converſation of theſe two worthies reminds us a little of that between the clown and his maſter in the open-air performances of the old wandering mountebanks. Even the death of Abel by the hand of his brother is performed in a manner calculated to provoke great laughter. In the old mirthful ſpirit, to hear two perſons load each other with vulgar abuſe, was as good as ſeeing them grin through a horſe-collar, if not better. Hence the droll ſcene in the play of "Noah" is a domeſtic quarrel between Noah and his wife, who was proverbially

a ſhrew, and here gives a tolerable example of abuſive language, as it might then come from a woman's tongue. The quarrel ariſes out of her obſtinate refuſal to go into the ark. In the New Teſtament ſeries the play of "The Shepherds" was one of thoſe moſt ſuſceptible of this ſort of embelliſhment. There are two plays of the Shepherds in the "Towneley Myſteries," the firſt of which is amuſing enough, as it repreſents, in clever burleſque, the acts and converſation of a party of mediæval ſhepherds guarding their flocks at night; but the ſecond play of the Shepherds is a much more remarkable example of a comic drama. The ſhepherds are introduced at the opening of the piece converſing very ſatirically on the corruptions of the time, and complaining how the people were impoveriſhed by over-taxation, to ſupport the pride and vanity of the ariſtocracy. After a good deal of very amuſing talk, the ſhepherds, who, as uſual, are three in number, agree to ſing a ſong, and it is this ſong, it appears, which brings to them a fourth, named Mak, who proves to be a ſheep-ſtealer; and, in fact, no ſooner have the ſhepherds reſigned themſelves to ſleep for the night, than Mak chooſes one of the beſt ſheep in their flocks, and carries it home to his hut. Knowing that he will be ſuſpected of the theft, and that he will ſoon be purſued, he is anxious to conceal the plunder, and is only helped out of his difficulty by his wife, who ſuggeſts that the carcaſe ſhall be laid at the bottom of her cradle, and that ſhe ſhall lie upon it and groan, pretending to be in labour. Meanwhile the ſhepherds awake, diſcover the loſs of a ſheep, and perceiving that Mak has diſappeared alſo, they naturally ſuſpect him to be the depredator, and purſue him. They find everything very cunningly prepared in the cottage to deceive them, but, after a large amount of roundabout inquiry and reſearch, and much drollery, they diſcover that the boy of which Mak's wife pretends to have been juſt delivered, is nothing elſe but the ſheep which had been ſtolen from their flocks. The wife ſtill aſſerts that it is her child, and Mak ſets up as his defence that the baby had been "forſpoken," or enchanted, by an elf at midnight, and that it had thus been changed into the appearance of a ſheep; but the ſhepherds refuſe to be ſatisfied with this explanation. The whole of this little comedy is carried out with great ſkill, and with infinite drollery. The

ſhepherds,

ſhepherds, while ſtill wrangling with Mak and his wife, are ſeized with drowſineſs, and lie down to ſleep; but they are arouſed by the voice of the angel, who proclaims the birth of the Saviour. The next play in which the drollery is introduced, is that of "Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents." Herod's bluſter and bombaſt, and the vulgar abuſe which paſſes between the Hebrew mothers and the ſoldiers who are murdering their children, are wonderfully laughable. The plays which represented the arreſt, trial, and execution of Jeſus, are all full of drollery, for the groteſque character which had been given to the demons in the earlier middle ages, appears to have been transferred to the executioners, or, as they were called, the "tormentors," and the language and manner in which they executed their duties, muſt have kept the audience in a continual roar of laughter. In the play of "Doomſday," the fiends retained their old character, and the manner in which they joke over the diſtreſs of the ſinful ſouls, and the details they give of their ſinfulneſs, are equally mirth-provoking. The "Coventry Myſteries" are alſo printed from a manuſcript of the middle of the fifteenth century, and are, perhaps, as old as the "Towneley Myſteries." They conſiſt of forty-two plays, but they contain, on the whole, fewer droll ſcenes than thoſe of the Towneley collection. But a very remarkable example is furniſhed in the play of the "Trial of Joſeph and Mary," which is a very groteſque picture of the proceedings in a mediæval conſiſtory court. The ſompnour, a character ſo well known by Chaucer's picture of him, opens the piece by reading from his book a long liſt of offenders againſt chaſtity. At its concluſion, two "detractors" make their appearance, who repeat various ſcandalous ſtories againſt the Virgin Mary and her huſband Joſeph, which are overheard by ſome of the high officers of the court, and Mary and Joſeph are formally accuſed and placed upon their trial. The trial itſelf is a ſcene of low ribaldry, which can only have afforded amuſement to a very vulgar audience. There is a certain amount of the ſame kind of indelicate drollery in the play of "The Woman taken in Adultery," in this collection. The "Cheſter Myſteries" are ſtill more ſparing of ſuch ſcenes, but they are printed from manuſcripts written after the Reformation, which had, perhaps, gone through the proceſs of expurgation, in

which

which ſuch excreſcences had been lopped off. However, in the play of "Noah's Flood," we have the old quarrel between Noah and his wife, which is carried ſo far that the latter actually beats her huſband in the preſence of the audience. There is a little drollery in the play of "The Shepherds," a conſiderable amount of what may be called "Billingſgate" language in the play of the "Slaughter of the Innocents," but leſs than the uſual amount of inſolence in the tormentors and demons.* It is probable, however, that theſe droll ſcenes were not always conſidered an integral part of the play in which they were introduced, but that they were kept as ſeparate ſubjects, to be introduced at will, and not always in the ſame play, and therefore that they were not copied with the play in the manuſcripts.

In the Coventry play of "Noah's Flood," when Noah has received the directions from an angel for the building of the ark, he leaves the ſtage to proceed to this important work. On his departure, Lamech comes forward, blind and led by a youth, who directs his hand to ſhoot at a beaſt concealed in a buſh. Lamech ſhoots, and kills Cain, upon which, in his anger, he beats the youth to death, and laments the misfortune into which the latter has led him. This was the legendary explanation of the paſſage in the fourth chapter of Geneſis: "And Lamech ſaid . . . . . I have ſlain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt; if Cain ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, truly Lamech ſeventy and ſeven-fold." It is evident that this is a piece of ſcriptural ſtory which has nothing to do with Noah's flood, and accordingly, in the Coventry play, we are told in the ſtage directions, that it was introduced in the place of the "interlude," † as if there were a place in the machinery of the pageant where the

* The editions of the three principal collections of English mysteries are—1. "The Towneley Mysteries," 8vo., London, 1836, published by the Surtees Society; 2. "Ludus Coventriæ: a Collection of Mysteries, formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi," edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., 8vo., London, 1841, published by the Shakespeare Society; 3. "The Chester Plays: a Collection of Mysteries founded upon Scriptural Subjects, and formerly represented by the Trades of Chester at Whitsuntide," edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1843 and 1847, published by the Shakespeare Society.

† "Hic transit Noe cum familia sua pro navi, quo exeunte, *locum interludii jubintret* statim Lameth, conductus ab adolescente, et dicens," &c.

the epiſode, which was not an integral part of the ſubject, was performed, and that this part of the performance was called an interlude, or play introduced in the interval of the action of the main ſubject. The word *interlude* remained long in our language as applied to ſuch ſhort and ſimple dramatic pieces as we may ſuppoſe to have formed the drolleries of the myſteries. But they had another name in France which has had a greater and more laſting celebrity. In one of the early French miracle-plays, that of "St. Fiacre," an interlude of this kind is introduced, containing five perſonages—a brigand or robber, a peaſant, a ſergeant, and the wives of the two latter. The brigand, meeting the peaſant on the high way, aſks the way to St. Omer, and receives a clowniſh anſwer, which is followed by one equally rude on a ſecond queſtion. The brigand, in revenge, ſteals the peaſant's capon, but the ſergeant comes up at this moment and, attempting to arreſt the thief, receives a blow from the latter which is ſuppoſed to break his right arm. The brigand thus eſcapes, and the peaſant and the ſergeant quit the ſcene, which is immediately occupied by their wives. The ſergeant's wife is informed by the other of the injury ſuſtained by her huſband, and ſhe exults over it becauſe it will deprive him of the power of beating her. They then proceed to a tavern, call for wine, and make merry, the converſation turning upon the faults of their reſpective huſbands, who are not ſpared. In the midſt of their enjoyments, the two huſbands return, and ſhow, by beating their wives, that they are not very greatly diſabled. In the manuſcript of the miracle-play of "St. Fiacre," in which this amuſing epiſode is introduced, a marginal ſtage direction is expreſſed in the following words, "*cy eſt interpoſé une farſſe*" (here a farce is introduced). This is one of the earlieſt inſtances of the application of the term *farce* to theſe ſhort dramatic facetiæ. Different opinions have been expreſſed as to the origin of the word, but it ſeems moſt probable that it is derived from an old French verb, *farcer*, to jeſt, to make merry, whence the modern word *farceur* for a joker, and that it thus means merely a drollery or merriment.

I have juſt ſuggeſted as a reaſon for the abſence of theſe interludes, or farces, in the myſteries as they are found in the manuſcripts, that they were probably not looked upon as parts of the myſteries themſelves, but

as ſeparate pieces which might be uſed at pleaſure. When we reach a certain period in their hiſtory, we find that not only was this the caſe, but that theſe farces were performed ſeparately and altogether independently of the religious plays. It is in France that we find information which enables us to trace the gradual revolution in the mediæval drama. A ſociety was formed towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century under the title of *Confrères de la Paſſion*, who, in 1398, eſtabliſhed a regular theatre at St. Maur-des-Foſſés, and ſubſequently obtained from Charles VI. a privilege to tranſport their theatre into Paris, and to perform in it myſteries and miracle-plays. They now rented of the monks of Hermières a hall in the hoſpital of the Trinity, outſide of the Porte St. Denis, performing there regularly on Sundays and ſaints' days, and probably making a good thing of it, for, during a long period, they enjoyed great popularity. Gradually, however, this popularity was ſo much diminiſhed, that the *confrères* were obliged to have recourſe to expedients for reviving it. Meanwhile other ſimilar ſocieties had ariſen into importance. The clerks of the Bazochè, or lawyers' clerks of the Palais de Juſtice, had thus aſſociated together, it is ſaid, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by compoſing and performing farces, for which they appear to have obtained a privilege. Towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century, there aroſe in Paris another ſociety, which took the name of *Enfans ſans ſouci*, or Careleſs Boys, who elected a preſident or chief with the title of *Prince des Sots*, or King of the Fools, and who compoſed a ſort of dramatic ſatires which they called *Sotties*. Jealouſies ſoon aroſe between theſe two ſocieties, either becauſe the ſotties were made ſometimes to reſemble too cloſely the farces, or becauſe each treſpaſſed too often on the territories of the other. Their differences were finally arranged by a compromiſe, whereby the Bazochians yielded to their rivals the privilege of performing farces, and received in return the permiſſion to perform ſotties. The Bazochians, too, had invented a new claſs of dramatic pieces which they called *Moralities*, and in which allegorical perſonages were introduced. Thus three dramatic ſocieties continued to exiſt in France through the fifteenth century, and until the middle of the ſixteenth.

Theſe

These various pieces, under the titles of farces, sotties, moralities, or whatever other names might be given to them, had become exceedingly popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and a very considerable number of them were printed, and many of them are still preserved, but they are books of great rarity, and often unique.* Of these the farces form the most numerous class. They consist simply of the tales of the older jougleurs or story-tellers represented in a dramatic form, but they often display great skill in conducting the plot, and a considerable amount of wit. The story of the sheep-stealer in the Towneley play of "The Shepherds," is a veritable farce. As in the fabliaux, the most common subjects of these farces are love intrigues, carried on in a manner which speaks little for the morality of the age in which they were written. Family quarrels frequently form the subject of a farce, and the weaknesses and vices of women. The priests, as usual, are not spared, but are introduced as the seducers of wives and daughters. In one the wives have found a means of re-modelling their husbands and making them young again, which they put in practice with various ludicrous circumstances. Tricks of servants are also common subjects for these farces. One is the story of a boy who does not know his own father, and some of the subjects are of a still more trivial character, as that of the boy who steals a tart from the pastrycook's shop. Two hungry boys, prowling about the streets, come to the shop door just as the pastrycook is giving directions for sending an eel-pie after him. By an ingenious deception the boys gain possession of the pie and eat it, and they are both caught and severely chastised. This is the whole plot of the farce. A dull schoolboy examined by his master in the presence of his parents, and the mirth produced by his blunders and their

* The most remarkable collection of these early farces, sotties, and moralities yet known, was found accidentally in 1845, and is now in the British Museum. These were all edited in Paris as the first three volumes of a work in ten, entitled "Ancien Théatre François, ou Collection des Ouvrages dramatiques les plus remarquable depuis les Mystères jusqu'à Corneille, publié. . . . par M. Viollet le Duc," 12mo., Paris, 1854. It is right to state that these three volumes were edited, not by M. Viollet le Duc, but by a scholar better known for his learning in the older French literature, M. Anatole de Montaiglon.

their ignorance, formed alſo a favourite ſubject among theſe farces. One or two examples are preſerved, and, from a compariſon of them, we might be led to ſuſpect that Shakeſpeare took the idea of the opening ſcene in the fourth act of the "Merry Wives of Windſor" from one of theſe old farces.

The ſotties and moralities were more imaginative and extravagant than the farces, and were filled with allegorical perſonages. The characters introduced in the former have generally ſome relation to the kingdom of folly. Thus, in one of the ſotties, the king of fools (*le roy des ſotz*) is repreſented as holding his court, and conſulting with his courtiers, whoſe names are Triboulet, Mitouflet, Sottinet, Coquibus, and Guippelin. Their converſation, as may be ſuppoſed, is of a ſatirical character. Another is entitled "The Sottie of the Deceivers," or cheats. Sottie—another name for mother Folly—opens the piece with a proclamation or addreſs to fools of all deſcriptions, ſummoning them to her preſence. Two, named Teſte-Verte and Fine-Mine, obey the call, and they are queſtioned as to their own condition, and their proceedings, but their converſation is interrupted by the ſudden intruſion of another perſonage named Everyone (*Chaſcun*), who, on examination, is found to be as perfect a fool as any of them. They accordingly fraterniſe, and join in a ſong. Finally, another character, The Time (*le Temps*), joins them, and they agree to ſubmit to his directions. Accordingly he inſtructs them in the arts of flattery and deceiving, and the other ſimilar means by which men of that time ſought to thrive. Another is the Sottie of Fooliſh Oſtentation (*de folle bobance*). This lady ſimilarly opens the ſcene with an addreſs to all the fools who hold allegiance to her, and three of theſe make their appearance. The firſt fool is the gentleman, the ſecond the merchant, the fourth the peaſant, and their converſation is a ſatire on contemporary ſociety. The perſonification of abſtract principles is far bolder. The three characters who compoſe one of theſe moralities are Everything (*tout*), Nothing (*rien*), and Everyone (*chaſcun*). How the perſonification of Nothing was to be repreſented, we are not told. The title of another of theſe moralities will be enough to give the reader a notion of their general title; it is, "A New Morality of the Children of Now-a-days"

Now-a-Days (*Maintenant*), who are the Scholars of Once-good (*Jabien*), who ſhows them how to play at Cards and at Dice, and to entertain Luxury, whereby one comes to Shame (*Honte*), and from Shame to Deſpair (*Deſeſpoir*), and from Deſpair to the gibbet of Perdition, and then turns himſelf to Good-doing." The characters in this play are Now-a-Days, Once-good, Luxury, Shame, Deſpair, Perdition, and Good-doing.

The three dramatic ſocieties which produced all theſe farces, ſotties, and moralities, continued to flouriſh in France until the middle of the ſixteenth century, at which period a great revolution in dramatic literature took place in that country. The performance of the Myſteries had been forbidden by authority, and the Bazochians themſelves were ſuppreſſed. The petty drama repreſented by the farces and ſotties went rapidly out of faſhion, in the great change through which the mind of ſociety was at this time paſſing, and in which the taſte for claſſical literature overcame all others. The old drama in France had diſappeared, and a new one, formed entirely upon an imitation of the claſſical drama, was beginning to take its place. This incipient drama was repreſented in the ſixteenth century by Etienne Jodel, by Jacques Grevin, by Rémy Belleau, and eſpecially by Pierre de Larivey, the moſt prolific, and perhaps the moſt talented, of the earlier French regular dramatic authors.

Theſe French dramatic eſſays, the farces, the ſotties, and the moralities, were imitated, and ſometimes tranſlated, in Engliſh, and many of them were printed; for the further our reſearches are carried into the early hiſtory of printing, the more we are aſtoniſhed at the extreme activity of the preſs, even in its infancy, in multiplying literature of a popular character. In England, as in France, the farces had been, at a rather early period, detached from the myſteries and miracle-plays, but the word *interludes* had been adopted here as the general title for them, and continued in uſe even after the eſtabliſhment of the regular drama. Perhaps this name owed its popularity to the circumſtance that it ſeemed more appropriate to its object, when it became ſo faſhionable in England to act theſe plays at intervals in the great feſtivals and entertainments given at court, or in the houſeholds of the great nobles. At all events,

there can be no doubt that this faſhion had a great influence on the fate of the Engliſh ſtage. The cuſtom of performing plays in the univerſities, great ſchools, and inns of court, had alſo the effect of producing a number of very clever dramatic writers; for when this literature was ſo warmly patroniſed by princes and nobles, people of the higheſt qualifications ſought to excel in it. Hence we find from books of houſehold expenſes and ſimilar records of the period, that there was, during the ſixteenth century, an immenſe number of ſuch plays compiled in England which were never printed, and of which, therefore, very few are preſerved.

The earlieſt known plays of this deſcription in the Engliſh language belong to the claſs which were called in France moralities. They are three in number, and are preſerved in a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Hudſon Gurney, which I have not ſeen, but which is ſaid to be of the reign of our king Henry VI. Several words and alluſions in them ſeem to me to ſhow that they were tranſlated, or adapted, from the French. They contain exactly the ſame kind of allegorical perſonages. The allegory itſelf is a ſimple one, and eaſily underſtood. In the firſt, which is entitled the "Caſtle of Perſeverance," the hero is *Humanum Genus* (Mankynd), for the names of the parts are all given in Latin. On the birth of this perſonage, a good and a bad angel offer themſelves as his protectors and guides, and he chooſes the latter, who introduces him to *Mundus* (the World), and to his friends, *Stultitia* (Folly), and *Voluptas* (Pleaſure). Theſe and ſome other perſonages bring him under the influence of the ſeven deadly ſins, and *Humanum Genus* takes for his bedfellow a lady named *Luxuria*. At length *Confeſſio* and *Pœnitentia* ſucceed in reclaiming *Humanum Genus*, and they conduct him for ſecurity to the Caſtle of Perſeverance, where the ſeven cardinal virtues attend upon him. He is beſieged in this caſtle by the ſeven deadly ſins, who are led to the attack by Belial, but are defeated. *Humanum Genus* has now become aged, and is expoſed to the attacks of another aſſailant. This is *Avaritia*, who enters the Caſtle ſtealthily by undermining the wall, and artfully perſuades *Humanum Genus* to leave it. He thus comes again under the influence of *Mundus*, until *Mors* (Death) arrives, and the bad angel carries off the victim to the domains of Satan. This, however,

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is not the end of the piece. God appears, ſeated on His throne, and Mercy, Peace, Juſtice, and Truth appear before Him, the two former pleading for, and the latter againſt, *Humanum Genus*, who, after ſome diſcuſſion, is ſaved. This allegorical picture of human life was, in one form or other, a favourite ſubject of the moraliſers. I may quote as examples the interludes of "Luſty Juventus," reprinted in Hawkins's "Origin of the Engliſh Drama," and the "Diſobedient Child," and "Trial of Treaſure," reprinted by the Percy Society.

The ſecond of the moralities aſcribed to the reign of Henry VI., has for its principal characters Mind, Will, and Underſtanding. Theſe are aſſailed by Lucifer, who ſucceeds in allūring them to vice, and they change their modeſt raiment for the dreſs of gay gallants. Various other characters are introduced in a ſimilar ſtrain of allegory, until they are reclaimed by Wiſdom. Mankind is again the principal perſonage of the third of theſe moralities, and ſome of the other characters in the play, ſuch as Nought, New-guiſe, and Now-a-days, remind us of the ſimilar allegorical perſonages in the French moralities deſcribed above.

Theſe interludes bring us into acquaintance with a new comic character. The great part which folly acted in the ſocial deſtinies of mankind, had become an acknowledged fact; and as the court and almoſt every great houſehold had its profeſſed fool, ſo it ſeems to have been conſidered that a play alſo was incomplete without a fool. But, as the character of the fool was uſually given to one of the moſt objectionable characters in it, ſo, for this reaſon apparently, the fool in a play was called the *Vice*. Thus, in "Luſty Juventus," the character of Hypocriſy is called the Vice; in the play of "All for Money," it is Sin; in that of "Tom Tyler and his Wife," it is Deſire; in the "Trial of Treaſure" it is Inclination; and in ſome inſtances the Vice appears to be the demon himſelf. The Vice ſeems always to have been dreſſed in the uſual coſtume of a court fool, and he perhaps had other duties beſides his mere part in the plot, ſuch as making jeſts of his own, and uſing other means for provoking the mirth of the audience in the intervals of the action.

A few of our early Engliſh interludes were, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, farces. Such is the "mery play" of "John the Huſband, Tyb the Wife,

Wife, and Sir John the Prieſt," written by John Heywood, the plot of which preſents the ſame ſimplicity as thoſe of the farces which were ſo popular in France. John has a ſhrew for his wife, and has good cauſes for ſuſpecting an undue intimacy between her and the prieſt; but they find means to blind his eyes, which is the more eaſily done, becauſe he is a great coward, except when he is alone. Tyb, the wife, makes a pie, and propoſes that the prieſt ſhall be invited to aſſiſt in eating it. The huſband is obliged, very unwillingly, to be the bearer of the invitation, and is not a little ſurpriſed when the prieſt refuſes it. He gives as his reaſon, that he was unwilling to intrude himſelf into company where he knew he was diſliked, and perſuaded John that he had fallen under the wife's diſpleaſure, becauſe, in private interviews with her, he had laboured to induce her to bridle her temper, and treat her huſband with more gentleneſs. John, delighted at the diſcovery of the prieſt's honeſty, inſiſts on his going home with him to feaſt upon the pie. There the guilty couple contrive to put the huſband to a diſagreeable penance, while they eat the pie, and treat him otherwiſe very ignominiouſly, in conſequence of which the married couple fight. The prieſt interferes, and the fight thus becomes general, and is only ended by the departure of Tyb and the prieſt, leaving the huſband alone.

The popularity of the moralities in England is, perhaps, to be explained by peculiarities in the condition of ſociety, and the greater pre-occupation of men's minds in our country at that time with the religious and ſocial revolution which was then in progreſs. The Reformers ſoon ſaw the uſe which might be made of the ſtage, and compiled and cauſed to be acted interludes in which the old doctrines and ceremonies were turned to ridicule, and the new ones were held up in a favourable light. We have excellent examples of the ſucceſs with which this plan was carried out in the plays of the celebrated John Bale. His play of "Kyng Johan," an edition of which was publiſhed by the Camden Society, is not only a remarkable work of a very remarkable man, but it may be conſidered as the firſt rude model of the Engliſh hiſtorical drama. The ſtage became now a political inſtrument in England, almoſt as it had been in ancient Greece, and it thus became frequently the object of particular as well as general

general perſecution. In 1543, the vicar of Yoxford, in Suffolk, drew upon himſelf the violent hoſtility of the other clergy in that county by compoſing and cauſing to be performed plays againſt the pope's counſellors. Six years afterwards, in 1549, a royal proclamation prohibited for a time the performance of interludes throughout the kingdom, on the ground that they contained "matter tendyng to ſedicion and contempnyng of ſundery good orders and lawes, whereupon are growen daily, and are likely to growe, muche diſquiet, diviſion, tumultes, and uproares in this realme." From this time forward we begin to meet with laws for the regulation of ſtage performances, and proceedings in caſes of ſuppoſed infractions of them, and it became cuſtomary to obtain the approval of a play by the privy council before it was allowed to be acted. Thus gradually aroſe the office of a dramatic cenſor.

With Bale and with John Heywood, the Engliſh plays began to approach the form of a regular drama, and the two now rather celebrated pieces, "Ralph Roiſter Doiſter," and "Gammer Gurton's Needle," which belong to the middle of the ſixteenth century, may be conſidered as comedies rather than as interludes. The former, written by a well-known ſcholar of that time, Nicholas Udall, maſter of Eton, is a ſatirical picture of ſome phaſes of London life, and relates the ridiculous adventures of a weak-headed and vain-glorious gallant, who believes that all the women muſt be in love with him, and who is led by a needy and deſigning paraſite named Matthew Merygreeke. Rude as it is as a dramatic compoſition, it diſplays no lack of talent, and it is full of genuine humour. The humour in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" is none the leſs rich becauſe it is of coarſer and rather broader caſt. The good dame of the piece, Gammer Gurton, during an interruption in the proceſs of mending the breeches of her huſband, Hodge, has loſt her needle, and much lamentation follows a misfortune ſo great at a time when needles appear to have been rare and valuable articles in the rural houſehold. In the midſt of their trouble appears Diccon, who is deſcribed in the *dramatis perſonæ* as "Diccon the Bedlam," meaning that he was an idiot, and who appears to hold the poſition of Vice in the play. Diccon, however, though weak-minded, is a cunning fellow, and eſpecially given

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to making miſchief, and he accuſes a neighbour, Dame Chat, of ſtealing the needle. At the ſame time, the ſame miſchievous individual tells Dame Chat that Gammer Gurton's cock had been ſtolen in the night from the henrooſt, and that ſhe, Dame Chat, was accuſed of being the thief. Amid the general miſunderſtanding which reſults from Diccon's ſucceſsful endeavours, they ſend for the parſon of the pariſh, Dr. Rat, who appears to unite in himſelf the three parts of preacher, phyſician, and conjurer, in order to have advantage of his experience in finding the needle. Diccon now contrives a new piece of miſchief. He perſuades Dame Chat that Hodge intends to hide himſelf in a certain hole in the premiſes, in order, that night, to creep out and kill all her hens; and at the ſame time he informs Dr. Rat, that if he will hide in the ſame hole, he will give him ocular demonſtration of Dame Chat's guilt of ſtealing the needle. The conſequence is that Dame Chat attacks by ſurpriſe, and ſomewhat violently, the ſuppoſed depredator in the hole, and that Dr. Rat gets a broken head. Dame Chat is brought before "Maſter Bayly" for the aſſault, and the proceedings in the trial bring to light the deceptions which have been played upon them all, and Diccon ſtands convicted as the wicked perpetrator. In fact, the "bedlam" confeſſes it all, and it is finally decided by "Maſter Bayly" that there ſhall be a general reconciliation, and that Diccon ſhall take a ſolemn oath on Hodge's breech, that he will do his beſt to find the loſt needle. Diccon has ſtill the ſpirit of miſchief in him, and inſtead of laying his hand quietly on Hodge's breech, he gives him a ſharp blow, which is reſponded to by an unexpected ſcream. The needle, indeed, which has never quitted the breeches, is driven rather deep into the fleſhy part of Hodge's body, and the general joy at having found it again overruling all other conſiderations, they all agree to be friends over a jug of "drink."

We cannot but feel aſtoniſhed at the ſhort period which it required to develop rude attempts at dramatic compoſition like this into the wonderful creations of a Shakeſpeare; and it can only be explained by the fact that it was an age remarkable for producing men of extraordinary genius in every branch of intellectual development. Hitherto, the literature of the ſtage had repreſented the intelligence of the maſs; it became individualiſed

individualiſed in Shakeſpeare, and this fact marks an entirely new era in the hiſtory of the drama. In the writings of our great bard, nearly all the peculiarities of the older national drama are preſerved, even ſome which may be perhaps conſidered as its defects, but carried to a degree of perfection which they had never attained before. The drollery, which, as we have ſeen, could not be diſpenſed with even in the religious myſteries and miracle-plays, had become ſo neceſſary, that it could not be diſpenſed with in tragedy. Its omiſſion belonged to a later period, when the foreign dramatiſts became objects of imitation in England. But in the earlier drama, theſe ſcenes of drollery ſeem frequently to have no connection whatever with the general plot, while Shakeſpeare always interweaves them ſkilfully with it, and they ſeem to form an integral and neceſſary part of it.

CHAPTER XVII.

DIABLERIE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—EARLY TYPES OF THE DIABOLICAL FORMS.—ST. ANTHONY.—ST. GUTHLAC.—REVIVAL OF THE TASTE FOR SUCH SUBJECTS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—THE FLEMISH SCHOOL OF BREUGHEL.—THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN SCHOOLS, CALLOT, SALVATOR ROSA.

WE have ſeen how the popular demonology furniſhed materials for the earlieſt exerciſe of comic art in the middle ages, and how the taſte for this particular claſs of groteſque laſted until the cloſe of the mediæval period. After the "renaiſſance" of art and literature, this taſte took a ſtill more remarkable form, and the ſchool of groteſque *diablerie* which flouriſhed during the ſixteenth century, and the firſt half of the ſeventeenth, juſtly claims a chapter to itſelf.

The birthplace of this demonology, as far as it belongs to Chriſtianity, muſt probably be ſought in the deſerts of Egypt. It ſpread thence over the eaſt and the weſt, and when it reached our part of the world, it grafted itſelf, as I have remarked in a former chapter, on the exiſting popular ſuperſtitions of Teutonic paganiſm. The playfully burleſque, which held ſo great a place in theſe ſuperſtitions, no doubt gave a more comic character to this Chriſtian demonology than it had poſſeſſed before the mixture. Its primitive repreſentative was the Egyptian monk, St. Anthony, who is ſaid to have been born at a village called Coma, in Upper Egypt, in the year 251. His hiſtory was written in Greek by St. Athanaſius, and was tranſlated into Latin by the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian Evagrius. Anthony was evidently a fanatical viſionary, ſubject to mental illuſions, which were foſtered by his education. To eſcape from the temptations of the world, he ſold all his property, which was conſiderable, gave it to the poor, and then retired into the deſert of the Thebaid, to live a life of the

the ſtricteſt aſceticiſm. The evil one perſecuted him in his ſolitude, and ſought to drive him back into the corruptions of worldly life. He firſt tried to fill his mind with regretful reminiſcences of his former wealth, poſition in ſociety, and enjoyments; when this failed, he diſturbed his mind with voluptuous images and deſires, which the ſaint reſiſted with equal ſucceſs. The perſecutor now changed his tactics, and preſenting himſelf to Anthony in the form of a black and ugly youth, confeſſed to him, with apparent candour, that he was the ſpirit of uncleanneſs, and acknowleged that he had been vanquiſhed by the extraordinary merits of Anthony's ſanctity. The ſaint, however, ſaw that this was only a ſtratagem to ſtir up in him the ſpirit of pride and ſelf-confidence, and he met it by ſubjecting himſelf to greater mortifications than ever, which of courſe made him ſtill more liable to theſe deluſions. Now he ſought greater ſolitude by taking up his reſidence in a ruined Egyptian ſepulchre, but the farther he withdrew from the world, the more he became the object of diabolical perſecution. Satan broke in upon his privacy with a hoſt of attendants, and during the night beat him to ſuch a degree, that one morning the attendant who brought him food found him lying ſenſeleſs in his cell, and had him carried to the town, where his friends were on the point of burying him, believing him to be dead, when he ſuddenly revived, and inſiſted on being taken back to his ſolitary dwelling. The legend tells us that the demons appeared to him in the forms of the moſt ferocious animals, ſuch as lions, bulls, wolves, aſps, ſerpents, ſcorpions, panthers, and bears, each attacking him in the manner peculiar to its ſpecies, and with its peculiar voice, thus making together a horrible din. Anthony left his tomb to retire farther into the deſert, where he made a ruined caſtle his reſidence; and here he was again frightfully perſecuted by the demons, and the noiſe they made was ſo great and horrible that it was often heard at a vaſt diſtance. According to the narrative, Anthony reproached the demons in very abuſive language, called them hard names, and even ſpat in their faces; but his moſt effective weapon was always the croſs. Thus the ſaint became bolder, and ſought a ſtill more lonely abode, and finally eſtabliſhed himſelf on the top of a high mountain in the upper Thebaid. The demons ſtill continued to perſecute him, under

a great variety of forms; on one occaſion their chief appeared to him under the form of a man, with the lower members of an aſs.

The demons which tormented St. Anthony became the general type for ſubſequent creations, in which theſe firſt pictures were gradually, and in the ſequel, greatly improved upon. St. Anthony's perſecutors uſually aſſumed the ſhapes of *bonâ fide* animals, but thoſe of later ſtories took monſtrous and groteſque forms, ſtrange mixtures of the parts of different animals, and of others which never exiſted. Such were ſeen by St. Guthlac, the St. Anthony of the Anglo-Saxons, among the wild moraſſes of Croyland. One night, which he was paſſing at his devotions in his cell, they poured in upon him in great numbers; "and they filled all the houſe with their coming, and they poured in on every ſide, from above and from beneath, and everywhere. They were in countenance horrible, and they had great heads, and a long neck, and lean viſage; they were filthy and ſqualid in their beards, and they had rough ears, and diſtorted face, and fierce eyes, and foul mouths; and their teeth were like horſes' tuſks, and their throats were filled with flame, and they were grating in their voice; they had crooked ſhanks, and knees big and great behind, and diſtorted toes, and ſhrieked hoarſely with their voices; and they came with ſuch immoderate noiſes and immenſe horror, that it ſeemed to him that all between heaven and earth reſounded with their dreadful cries." On another ſimilar occaſion, "it happened one night, when the holy man Guthlac fell to his prayers, he heard the howling of cattle and various wild beaſts. Not long after he ſaw the appearance of animals and wild beaſts and creeping things coming in to him. Firſt he ſaw the viſage of a lion that threatened him with his bloody tuſks, alſo the likeneſs of a bull, and the viſage of a bear, as when they are enraged. Alſo he perceived the appearance of vipers, and a hog's grunting, and the howling of wolves, and croaking of ravens, and the various whiſtlings of birds, that they might, with their fantaſtic appearance, divert the mind of the holy man."

Such were the ſuggeſtions on which the mediæval ſculptors and illuminators worked with ſo much effect, as we have ſeen repeatedly in the courſe of our preceding chapters. After the revival of art in weſtern Europe

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in the fifteenth century, this clafs of legends became great favourites with painters and engravers, and foon gave rife to the peculiar fchool of *diablerie* mentioned above. At that time the ftory of the Temptation of St. Anthony attracted particular attention, and it is the fubject of many remarkable prints belonging to the earlier ages of the art of engraving. It employed the pencils of fuch artifts as Martin Schongauer, Ifrael van Mechen, and Lucas Cranach. Of the latter we have two different engravings on the fame fubject—St. Anthony carried into the air by the demons, who are repreferted in a great variety of grotefque and monftrous forms. The moft remarkable of the two bears the date of 1506, and was, therefore, one of Cranach's earlier works. But the great repreferntative of this earlier fchool of *diablerie* was Peter Breughel, a Flemifh painter who flourifhed in the middle of the fixteenth century. He was born at Breughel, near Breda, and lived fome time at Antwerp, but afterwards eftablifhed himfelf at Bruffels. So celebrated was he for the love of the grotefque difplayed in his pictures, that he was known by the name of Peter the Droll. Breughel's "Temptation of St. Anthony," like one or two others of his fubjects of the fame clafs, was engraved in a reduced form by J. T. de Bry. Breughel's demons are figures of the moft fantaftic defcription—creations of a wildly grotefque imagination; they prefent incongruous and laughable mixtures of parts of living things which have no relation whatever to one another. Our cut No. 155 repreferts a group of thefe grotefque demons, from a plate by Breughel, engraved in 1565, and entitled *Divus Jacobus diabolicis præftigiis ante magum ftftitur* (St. James is arrefted before the magician by diabolical delufions). The engraving is full of fimilarly grotefque figures. On the right is a fpacious chimney, and up it witches, riding on brooms, are making their efcape, while in the air are feen other witches riding away upon dragons and a goat. A kettle is boiling over the fire, around which a group of monkeys are feen fitting and warming themfelves. Behind thefe a cat and a toad are holding a very intimate converfation. In the background ftands and boils the great witches' caldron. On the right of the picture the *magus*, or magician, is feated, reading his *grimoire*, with a frame before him fupporting the pot containing his magical ingredients. The faint occupies the

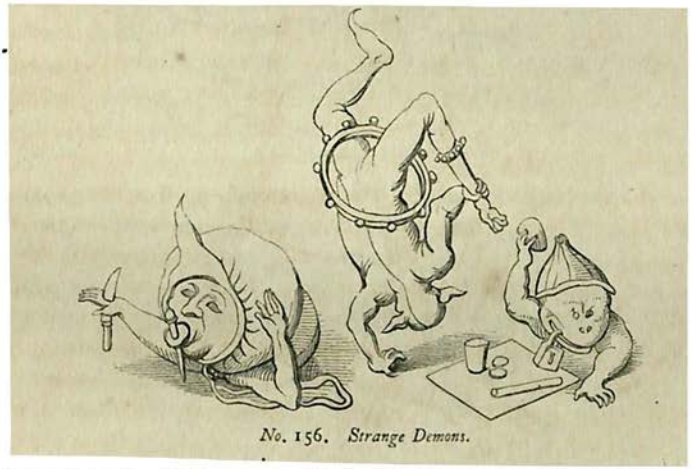
the middle of the picture, ſurrounded by the demons repreſented in our cut and by many others; and as he approaches the magician, he is ſeen raiſing his right hand in the attitude of pronouncing a benediction, the apparent conſequence of which is a frightful exploſion of the magician's pot, which ſtrikes the demons with evident conſternation. Nothing can be more *bizarre* than the horſe's head upon human legs in armour, the parody upon a crawling ſpider behind it, the ſkull (apparently of a horſe)

No. 155. *St. James and his Perſecutors.*

ſupported upon naked human legs, the ſtrangely excited animal behind the latter, and the figure furniſhed with pilgrim's hood and ſtaff, which appears to be mocking the ſaint. Another print—a companion to the foregoing—repreſents the ſtill more complete diſcomfiture of the *magus*. The ſaint here occupies the right-hand ſide of the picture, and is raiſing his hand higher, with apparently a greater ſhow of authority. The demons have all turned againſt their maſter the magician, whom they are beating

beating and hurling headlong from his chair. They ſeem to be proclaiming their joy at his fall by all ſorts of playful attitudes. It is a ſort of demon fair. Some of them, to the left of the picture, are dancing and ſtanding upon their heads on a tight-rope. Near them another is playing ſome game like that which we now call the thimble-rig. The monkeys are dancing to the tune of a great drum. A variety of their mountebank tricks are going on in different parts of the ſcene. Three of theſe playful actors are repreſented in our cut No. 156.

Breughel alſo executed a ſeries of ſimilarly groteſque engravings, repreſenting in this ſame fantaſtic manner the virtues and vices, ſuch as Pride (*ſuperbia*), Courage (*fortitudo*), Sloth (*deſidia*), &c. Theſe bear the

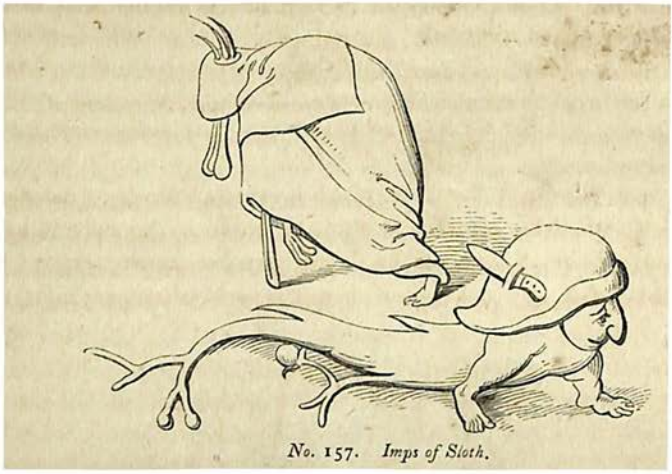


No. 156. *Strange Demons.*

date of 1558. They are crowded with figures equally groteſque with thoſe juſt mentioned, but a great part of which it would be almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe. I give two examples from the engraving of "Sloth," in the accompanying cut (No. 157).

From making up figures from parts of animals, this early ſchool of groteſque proceeded to create animated figures out of inanimate things, ſuch as machines, implements of various kinds, houſehold utenſils, and other ſuch articles. A German artiſt, of about the ſame time as Breughel, has

has left us a ſingular ſeries of etchings of this deſcription, which are intended as an allegorical ſatire on the follies of mankind. The allegory



No. 157. *Imps of Sloth.*

is here of ſuch a ſingular character, that we can only gueſs at the meaning of theſe ſtrange groups through four lines of German verſe which are

No. 158. *The Folly of Hunting.*

attached to each of them. In this manner we learn that the group repreſented in our cut, No. 158, which is the ſecond in this ſeries, is intended

intended as a ſatire upon thoſe who waſte their time in hunting, which, the verſes tell us, they will in the ſequel lament bitterly; and they are exhorted to cry loud and continually to God, and to let that ſerve them in the place of hound and hawk.

Die zeit die du verleurſt mit jagen,
Die wirſtu zwar noch ſchmertzlich klagen;
Ruff laut zu Gott gar oft und vil,
Das ſey dein hund und federſpil.

The next picture in the ſeries, which is equally difficult to deſcribe, is aimed againſt thoſe who fail in attaining virtue or honour through ſluggiſhneſs. Others follow, but I will only give one more example. It forms our cut No. 159, and appears, from the verſes accompanying it, to

No. 159. *The Waſtefulneſs of Youth.*

be aimed againſt thoſe who practice waſtefulneſs in their youth, and thus become objects of pity and ſcorn in old age. Whatever may be the point of the allegory contained in the engraving, it is certainly far-fetched, and not very apparent.

This German-Flemiſh ſchool of groteſque does not appear to have outlived the ſixteenth century, or at leaſt it had ceaſed to flouriſh in the century following. But the taſte for the *diablerie* of the Temptation

ſcenes

ſcenes paſſed into France and Italy, in which countries it aſſumed a much more refined character, though at the ſame time one equally groteſque and imaginative. Theſe artiſts, too, returned to the original legend, and gave it forms of their own conception. Daniel Rabel, a French artiſt, who lived at the end of the ſixteenth century, publiſhed a rather remarkable engraving of the "Temptation of St. Anthony," in which the ſaint appears on the right of the picture, kneeling before a mound on which three demons are dancing. On the right hand of the ſaint ſtands a naked woman, ſheltering herſelf with a paraſol, and tempting the ſaint with her charms. The reſt of the piece is filled with demons in a great variety of forms and poſtures. Another French artiſt, Nicholas Cochin, has left us two "Temptations of St. Anthony," in rather ſpirited etching, of the earlier part of the ſeventeenth century. In the firſt, the ſaint is repreſented kneeling before a crucifix, ſurrounded by demons. The youthful and charming temptreſs is here dreſſed in the richeſt garments, and the higheſt ſtyle of faſhion, and diſplays all her powers of ſeduction. The body of the picture is, as uſual, occupied by multitudes of diabolical figures, in groteſque forms. In Cochin's other picture of the Temptation of St. Anthony, the ſaint is repreſented as a hermit engaged in his prayers; the female figure of voluptuouſneſs (*voluptas*) occupies the middle of the picture, and behind the ſaint is ſeen a witch with her beſom.

But the artiſt who excelled in this ſubject at the period at which we now arrive, was the celebrated Jacques Callot, who was born at Nancy, in Brittany, in 1593, and died at Florence on the 24th of March, 1635, which, according to the old ſtyle of calculating, may mean March, 1636. Of Callot we ſhall have to ſpeak in another chapter. He treated the ſubject of the Temptation of St. Anthony in two different plates, which are conſidered as ranking among the moſt remarkable of his works, and to which, in fact, he appears to have given much thought and attention. He is known, indeed, to have worked diligently at it. They reſemble thoſe of the older artiſts in the number of diabolical figures introduced into the picture, but they diſplay an extraordinary vivid imagination in the forms, poſtures, phyſiognomies, and even the equipments, of the chimerical

chimerical figures, all equally droll and burleſque, but which preſent an entire contraſt to the more coarſe and vulgar conceptions of the German-Flemiſh ſchool. This difference will be underſtood beſt by an example.

No. 160. *The Demon Tilter* (*Callot*).

One of Callot's demons is repreſented in our cut No. 160. Many of them are mounted on nondeſcript animals, of the moſt extraordinary demoniacal character, and ſuch is the caſe of the demon in our cut, who is running a

No. 161. *Uneaſy Riding* (*Callot*).

tilt at the ſaint with his tilting ſpear in his hand, and, to make more ſure, his eyes well furniſhed with a pair of ſpectacles. In our next cut, No. 161, we give a ſecond example of the figures in Callot's peculiar

diablerie. The demon in this caſe is riding very uneaſily, and, in fact, ſeems in danger of being thrown. The ſteeds of both are of an anomalous character; the firſt is a ſort of dragon-horſe; the ſecond a mixture of a lobſter, a ſpider, and a craw-fiſh. Mariette, the art-collector and art-writer of the reign of Louis XV. as well as artiſt, conſiders this groteſque, or, as he calls it, "fantaſtic and comic character," as almoſt neceſſary to the pictures of the Temptation of St. Anthony, which he treats as one of Callot's eſpecially *ſerious* ſubjects. "It was allowable," he ſays, "to Callot, to give a flight to his imagination. The more his fictions were of the nature of dreams, the more they were fitted to what he had to expreſs. For the demon intending to torment St. Anthony, it is to be ſuppoſed that he muſt have thought of all the forms moſt hideous, and moſt likely to ſtrike terror."

Callot's firſt and larger print of the Temptation of St Anthony is rare. It is filled with a vaſt number of figures. Above is a fantaſtic being who vomits thouſands of demons. The ſaint is ſeen at the entrance of a cavern, tormented by ſome of theſe. Others are ſcattered about in different occupations. On one ſide, a demoniacal party are drinking together, and pledging each other in their glaſſes; here, a devil is playing on the guitar; there, others are occupied in a dance; all ſuch groteſque figures as our two examples would lead the reader to expect. In the ſecond of Callot's "Temptations," which is dated in 1635, and muſt therefore have been one of his lateſt works, the ſame figure vomiting the demons occupies the upper part of the plate, and the field is covered with a prodigious number of imps, more hideous in their forms, and more varied in their extraordinary attitudes, than in the ſame artiſt's firſt deſign. Below, a hoſt of demons are dragging the ſaint to a place where new torments are prepared for him. Callot's prints of the Temptation of St. Anthony gained ſo great a reputation, that imitations of them were ſubſequently publiſhed, ſome of which ſo far approached his ſtyle, that they were long ſuppoſed to be genuine.

Callot, though a Frenchman, ſtudied and flouriſhed in Italy, and his ſtyle is founded upon Italian art. The laſt great artiſt whoſe treatment of the Temptation I ſhall quote, is Salvator Roſa, an Italian by birth, who

who flouriſhed in the middle of the ſeventeenth century. His ſtyle, according to ſome opinions, is refined from that of Callot; at all events, it is bolder in deſign. Our cut No. 162 repreſents St. Anthony protect-

No. 162. *St. Anthony and his Perſecutor.*

ing himſelf with the croſs againſt the aſſaults of the demon, as repreſented by Salvator Roſa. With this artiſt the ſchool of *diablerie* of the ſixteenth century may be conſidered to have come to its end.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CALLOT AND HIS SCHOOL. — CALLOT'S ROMANTIC HISTORY. — HIS "CAPRICI," AND OTHER BURLESQUE WORKS.—THE "BALLI" AND THE BEGGARS.—IMITATORS OF CALLOT; DELLA BELLA.—EXAMPLES OF DELLA BELLA.—ROMAIN DE HOOGHE.

THE art of engraving on copper, although it had made rapid advances during the ſixteenth century, was ſtill very far from perfection; but the cloſe of that century witneſſed the birth of a man who was deſtined not only to give a new character to this art, but alſo to bring in a new ſtyle of caricature and burleſque. This was the celebrated Jacques Callot, a native of Lorraine, and deſcended from a noble Burgundian family. His father, Jean Callot, held the office of herald of Lorraine. Jacques was born in the year 1592,* at Nancy, and appears to have been deſtined for the church, with a view to which his early education was regulated. But the early life of Jacques Callot preſents a romantic epiſode in the hiſtory of art aſpirations. While yet hardly more than an infant, he ſeized every opportunity of neglecting more ſerious ſtudies to practiſe drawing, and he diſplayed eſpecially a very precocious taſte for ſatire, for his artiſtic talent was ſhown principally in caricaturing all the people he knew. His father, and apparently all his relatives, diſapproved of his love for drawing, and did what they could to diſcourage it; but in vain, for he ſtill found means of indulging it. Claude Henriet, the painter to the court of Lorraine, gave him leſſons, and his ſon, Iſrael Henriet, formed for him a boy's friendſhip. He alſo learnt the elements of

* This is the date fixed by Meaume, in his excellent work on Callot, entitled "Recherches sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Jacques Callot," 2 tom. 8vo., 1860.

of the art of engraving of Demange Crocq, the engraver to the duke of Lorraine.

About this time, the painter Bellange, who had been a pupil of Claude Henriet, returned from Italy, and gave young Callot an exciting account of the wonders of art to be ſeen in that country; and ſoon afterwards Claude Henriet dying, his ſon Iſrael went to Rome, and his letters from thence had no leſs effect on the mind of the young artiſt at Nancy, than the converſation of Bellange. Indeed the paſſion of the boy for art was ſo ſtrong, that, finding his parents obſtinately oppoſed to all his longings in this direction, he left his father's houſe ſecretly, and, in the ſpring of 1604, when he had only juſt entered his thirteenth year, he ſet out for Italy on foot, without introductions and almoſt without money. He was even unacquainted with the road, but after proceeding a ſhort diſtance, he fell in with a band of gipſies, and, as they were going to Florence, he joined their company. His life among the gipſies, which laſted ſeven or eight weeks, appears to have furniſhed food to his love of burleſque and caricature, and he has handed down to us his impreſſions, in a ſeries of four engravings of ſcenes in gipſy life, admirably executed at a rather later period of his life, which are full of comic humour. When they arrived at Florence, Jacques Callot parted company with the gipſies, and was fortunate enough to meet with an officer of the grand duke's houſehold, who liſtened to his ſtory, and took ſo much intereſt in him, that he obtained him admiſſion to the ſtudio of Remigio Canta Gallina. This artiſt gave him inſtructions in drawing and engraving, and ſought to correct him of his taſte for the groteſque by keeping him employed upon ſerious ſubjects.

After ſtudying for ſome months under Canta Gallina, Jacques Callot left Florence, and proceeded to Rome, to ſeek his old friend Iſrael Henriet; but he had hardly arrived, when he was recogniſed in the ſtreets by ſome merchants from Nancy, who took him, and in ſpite of his tears and reſiſtance, carried him home to his parents. He was now kept to his ſtudies more ſtrictly than ever, but nothing could overcome his paſſion for art, and, having contrived to lay by ſome money, after a ſhort interval he again ran away from home. This time he took the road

to

to Lyons, and croſſed Mont Cenis, and he had reached Turin when he met in the ſtreet of that city his elder brother Jean, who again carried him home to Nancy. Nothing could now repreſs young Callot's ardour, and ſoon after this ſecond eſcapade, he engraved a copy of a portrait of Charles III., duke of Lorraine, to which he put his name and the date 1607, and which, though it diſplays little ſkill in engraving, excited conſiderable intereſt at the time. His parents were now perſuaded that it was uſeleſs to thwart any longer his natural inclinations, and they not only allowed him to follow them, but they yielded to his wiſh to return to Italy. The circumſtances of the moment were eſpecially favourable. Charles III., duke of Lorraine, was dead, and his ſucceſſor, Henry II., was preparing to ſend an embaſſy to Rome to announce his acceſſion. Jean Callot, by his poſition of herald, had ſufficient intereſt to obtain for his ſon an appointment in the ambaſſador's retinue, and Jacques Callot ſtarted for Rome on the 1ſt of December, 1608, under more favourable auſpices than thoſe which had attended his former viſits to Italy.

Callot reached Rome at the beginning of the year 1609, and now at length he joined the friend of his childhood, Iſrael Henriet, and began to throw all his energy into his art-labours. It is more than probable that he ſtudied under Tempeſta, with Henriet, who was a pupil of that painter, and another Lorrainer, Claude Dervet. After a time, Callot began to feel the want of money, and obtained employment of a French engraver, then reſiding in Rome, named Philippe Thomaſſin, with whom he worked nearly three years, and became perfect in handling the graver. Towards the end of the year 1611, Callot went to Florence, to place himſelf under Julio Parigi, who then flouriſhed there as a painter and engraver. Tuſcany was at this time ruled by its duke Coſmo de' Medicis, a great lover of the arts, who took Callot under his patronage, giving him the means to advance himſelf. Hitherto his occupation had been principally copying the works of others, but under Parigi he began to practiſe more in original deſign, and his taſte for the groteſque came upon him ſtronger than ever. Although Parigi blamed it, he could not help admiring the talent it betrayed. In 1615, the grand duke gave a great entertainment to the prince of Urbino, and Callot was employed to make

engravings

engravings of the feſtivities; it was his firſt commencement in a claſs of deſigns by which he afterwards attained great celebrity. In the year following, his engagement with Parigi ended, and he became his own maſter. He now came out unfettered in his own originality. The firſt fruits were ſeen in a new kind of deſigns, to which he gave the name of "Caprices," a ſeries of which appeared about the year 1617, under the title of "Caprici di varie Figure." Callot re-engraved them at Nancy in later years, and in the new title they were ſtated to have been originally engraved in 1616. In a ſhort preface, he ſpeaks of theſe as the firſt of his works on which he ſet any value. They now ſtrike us as ſingular

No. 163. A Cripple.

examples of the fanciful creations of a moſt groteſque imagination, but they no doubt preſerve many traits of the feſtivals, ceremonies, and manners of that land of maſquerade, which muſt have been then familiar to the Florentines; and theſe engravings would, doubtleſs, be received by them with abſolute delight. One is copied in our cut No. 163; it repreſents a cripple ſupporting himſelf on a ſhort crutch, with his right arm in a ſling. Our cut No. 164 is another example from the ſame ſet, and repreſents a maſked clown, with his left hand on the hilt of his dagger, or perhaps of a wooden ſword. From this time, although he was very induſtrious and produced much, Callot engraved only his own deſigns.

While

While employed for others, Callot had worked chiefly with the graver, but now that he was his own maſter, he laid aſide that implement, and devoted himſelf almoſt entirely to etching, in which he attained the higheſt proficiency. His work is remarkable for the cleanneſs and eaſe of his lines, and for the life and ſpirit he gave to his figures. His talent lay

No. 164. *A Groteſque Maſker.*

eſpecially in the extraordinary ſkill with which he grouped together great numbers of diminutive figures, each of which preſerved its proper and full action and effect. The great annual fair of the Impruneta was held with extraordinary feſtivities, and attended by an immenſe concourſe of people of all claſſes, on St. Luke's Day, the 18th of October, in the outſkirts of Florence. Callot engraved a large picture of this fair, which is abſolutely wonderful. The picture embraces an extenſive ſpace of ground, which is covered with hundreds of figures, all occupied, ſingly or in groups, in different manners, converſing, maſquerading, buying and ſelling, playing games, and performing in various ways; each group or figure

figure is a picture in itself. This engraving produced quite a sensation, and it was followed by other pictures of fairs, and, after his final return to Nancy, Callot engraved it anew. It was this talent for grouping large masses of persons which caused the artist to be so often employed in drawing great public ceremonies, sieges, and other warlike operations.

By the duke of Florence, Cosmo II., Callot was liberally patronised and loaded with benefits, but on his death the government had to be placed in the hands of a regency, and art and literature no longer met with the same encouragement. In this state of things, Callot was found by Charles of Lorraine, afterwards duke Charles IV., and persuaded to return to his native country. He arrived at Nancy in 1622, and began to work there with greater activity even than he had displayed before. It was not long after this that he produced his sets of grotesques, the Balli (or dancers), the Gobbi (or hunchbacks), and the Beggars. The first of these sets, called in the title *Balli,* or *Cucurucu,** consists of twenty-four small plates, each of them containing two comic characters in grotesque attitudes, with groups of smaller figures in the distance. Beneath the two prominent figures are their names, now unintelligible, but at that time no doubt well known on the comic stage at Florence. Thus, in the couple given in our cut No. 165, which is taken from the fourth plate of the series, the personage to the left is named Smaraolo Cornuto, which means simply Smaraolo the cuckold; and the one on the right is called Ratsa di Boio. In the original the background is occupied by a street, full of spectators, looking on at a dance of pantaloons, round one who is mounted on stilts and playing on the tabour. The couple in our cut No. 166,

* Meaume appears to be doubtful of the meaning of this word; a friend has pointed out to me the correction. It was the title of a song, so called because the burden was an imitation of the crowing of a cock, the singer mimicking also the action of the bird. When Bacchus, in Redi's "Bacco in Toscana," is beginning to feel the exhilarating effects of his critical investigation of the Tuscan wines, he calls upon Ariadne to sing to him "sulla mandola la Cucurucù," "on the mandola the Cucurucu." A note fully explains the word as we have stated it—"Canzone cosi detta, perchè in esse si replica molte volte la voce del gallo; e cantandola si fanno atti e moti simili a quegli di esso gallo."

No. 166, repreſents another of Callot's "Caprices," from a ſet differing from the firſt "Caprices," or the Balli. The Gobbi, or hunchbacks, form

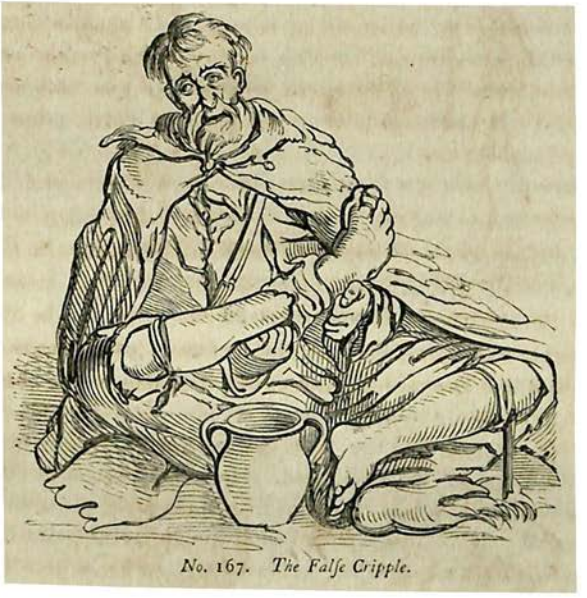
No. 165. *Smaraolo Cornuto.—Ratja di Boio.*

a ſet of twenty-one engravings; and the ſet of the Gipſies, already alluded to, which was alſo executed at Nancy, was included in four plates, the

No. 106. *A Caprice.*

ſubjects of which were ſeverally—1, the gipſies travelling; 2, the avant-guard; 3, the halt; and 4, the preparations for the feaſt. Nothing could be

be more truthful, and at the ſame time more comic, than this laſt ſet of ſubjects. We give, as an example of the ſet of the Baroni, or beggars, Callot's figure of one of that particular claſs—for beggars and rogues of all kinds were claſſified in thoſe days—whoſe part it was to appeal to charity by wounds and ſores artificially repreſented. In the Engliſh ſlang



No. 167. *The Falſe Cripple.*

of the ſeventeenth century, theſe artificial ſores were called *clymes*, and a curious account of the manner in which they were made will be found in that ſingular picture of the vicious claſſes of ſociety in this country at that period, the "Engliſh Rogue," by Head and Kirkman. The falſe cripple in our cut is holding up his leg to make a diſplay of his pretended infirmity.

Callot remained at Nancy, with merely temporary abſences, during the remainder of his life. In 1628, he was employed at Bruſſels in drawing and engraving the "Siege of Breda," one of the moſt finiſhed of his works, and he there made the perſonal acquaintance of Vandyck. Early

in

in 1629, he was called to Paris to execute engravings of the ſiege of La Rochelle, and of the defence of the Iſle of Rhé, but he returned to Nancy in 1630. Three years afterwards his native country was invaded by the armies of Louis XIII., and Nancy ſurrendered to the French on the 25th of September, 1633. Callot was required to make engravings to celebrate the fall of his native town; but, although he is ſaid to have been threatened with violence, he refuſed; and afterwards he commemorated the evils brought upon his country by the French invaſion in thoſe two immortal ſets of prints, the leſſer and greater "Misères de la Guerre." About two years after this, Callot died, in the prime of life, on the 24th of March, 1635.

The fame of Callot was great among his contemporaries, and his name is juſtly reſpected as one of the moſt illuſtrious in the hiſtory of French art. He had, as might be expected, many imitators, and the Caprices, the Balli, and the Gobbi, became very favourite ſubjects. Among theſe imitators, the moſt ſucceſsful and the moſt diſtinguiſhed was Stephano Della Bella; and, indeed, the only one deſerving of particular notice. Della Bella was born at Florence, on the 18th of May, 1610;* his father, dying two years afterwards, left him an orphan, and his mother in great poverty. As he grew up, he ſhowed, like Callot himſelf, precocious talents in art, and of the ſame kind. He eagerly attended all public feſtivals, games, &c., and on his return from them made them the ſubject of groteſque ſketches. It was remarked of him, eſpecially, that he had a curious habit of always beginning to draw a human figure from the feet, and proceeding upwards to the head. He was ſtruck at a very early period of his purſuit of art by the ſtyle of Callot, of which, at firſt, he was a ſervile imitator, but he afterwards abandoned ſome of its peculiarities, and adopted a ſtyle which was more his own, though ſtill founded upon that of Callot. He almoſt rivalled Callot in his ſucceſs in grouping multitudes of figures together, and hence he alſo was much employed in producing

* The materials for the history of Della Bella and his works, will be found in a carefully compiled volume, by C. A. Jombert, entitled, "Essai d'un Catalogue de l'Oeuvre d'Etienne de la Bella." 8vo., Paris, 1772.

producing engravings of ſieges, feſtive entertainments, and ſuch elaborate ſubjects. As Callot's aſpirations had been directed towards Italy, thoſe of Della Bella were turned towards France, and when in the latter days of the miniſtry of Cardinal Richelieu, the grand duke of Florence ſent Alexandro del Nero as his reſident ambaſſador in Paris, Della Bella was permitted to accompany him. Richelieu was occupied in the ſiege of Arras, and the engraving of that event was the foundation of Della Bella's fame in France, where he remained about ten years, frequently employed on ſimilar ſubjects. He ſubſequently viſited Flanders and Holland, and at Amſterdam made the acquaintance of Rembrandt. He returned to Florence in 1650, and died there on the 23rd of July, 1664.

While ſtill in Florence, Della Bella executed four prints of dwarfs quite in the groteſque ſtyle of Callot. In 1637, on the occaſion of the marriage of thē grand duke Ferdinand II., Della Bella publiſhed engravings of the different ſcenes repreſented, or performed, on that occaſion. Theſe were effected by very elaborate machinery, and were repreſented in ſix engravings, the fifth of which (*ſcena quinta*) repreſents hell (*d' Inferno*), and is filled with furies, demons, and witches, which might have found a place in Callot's "Temptation of St. Anthony."

No. 168. *A Witch Mounted.*

A ſpecimen of theſe is given in our cut No. 168—a naked witch ſeated upon a ſkeleton of an animal that might have been borrowed from ſome far diſtant geological period. In 1642, Della Bella executed a ſet of ſmall "Caprices," conſiſting of thirteen plates, from the eighth of which we take our cut No. 169. It repreſents a beggar-woman, carrying one child on her back, while another is ſtretched on the ground. In this claſs of ſubjects Della Bella imitated Callot, but the copyiſt never ſucceeded in equalling the original. His beſt ſtyle, as an original artiſt of burleſque and caricature, is ſhown in a ſet of five plates of Death carrying away

away people of different ages, which he executed in 1648. The fourth of this ſet is copied in our cut No. 170, and repreſents Death carrying off, on his ſhoulder, a young woman, in ſpite of her ſtruggles to eſcape from him.

With the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century theſe "Caprices" and

No. 169. *Beggary.*

maſquerade ſcenes began to be no longer in vogue, and caricature and burleſque aſſumed new forms; but Callot and Della Bella had many followers, and their examples had a laſting influence upon art.

We muſt not forget that a celebrated artiſt, in another country, at the end of the ſame century, the well-known Romain de Hooghe, was produced from the ſchool of Callot, in which he had learnt, not the arts of burleſque and caricature, but that of skilfully grouping multitudes of figures, eſpecially in ſubjects repreſenting epiſodes of war, tumults, maſſacres, and public proceſſions.

Of Romain de Hooghe we ſhall have to ſpeak again in a ſubſequent chapter. In his time the art of engraving had made great advance on the Continent, and eſpecially in France, where it met with more encouragement than elſewhere. In England this art had, on the whole, made much leſs progreſs, and was in rather a low condition, one branch only excepted, that of portraits. Of the two diſtinguiſhed engravers in England during the ſeventeenth century, Hollar was a Bohemian, and Faithorne, though an

an Engliſhman, learnt his art in France. We only began to have an Engliſh ſchool when Dutch and French engravers came in with King William to lay the groundwork.

No. 170. *Death carrying off his Prey.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SATIRICAL LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—PASQUIL.—MACARONIC POETRY.—THE EPISTOLÆ OBSURORUM VIRORUM.—RABELAIS.—COURT OF THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE, AND ITS LITERARY CIRCLE; BONAVENTURE DES PERIERS.—HENRI ETIENNE.—THE LIGUE, AND ITS SATIRE: THE "SATYRE MÉNIPPÉE."

THE ſixteenth century, eſpecially on the Continent, was a period of that ſort of violent agitation which is moſt favourable to the growth of ſatire. Society was breaking up, and going through a courſe of decompoſition, and it preſented to the view on every ſide ſpectacles which provoked the mockery, perhaps more than the indignation, of lookers-on. Even the clergy had learnt to laugh at themſelves, and almoſt at their own religion; and people who thought or reflected were gradually ſeparating into two claſſes—thoſe who caſt all religion from them, and ruſhed into a jeering ſcepticiſm, and thoſe who entered ſeriouſly and with reſolution into the work of reformation. The latter found moſt encouragement among the Teutonic nations, while the ſceptical element appears to have had its birth in Italy, and even in Rome itſelf, where, among popes and cardinals, religion had degenerated into empty forms.

At ſome period towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, a mutilated ancient ſtatue was accidentally dug up in Rome, and it was erected on a pedeſtal in a place not far from the Urſini Palace. Oppoſite it ſtood the ſhop of a ſhoemaker, named Paſquillo, or Paſquino, the latter being the form moſt commonly adopted at a later period. This Paſquillo was notorious as a facetious fellow, and his ſhop was uſually crowded by people who went there to tell tales and hear news; and, as no other name had been invented

invented for the ſtatue, people agreed to give it the name of the ſhoemaker, and they called it Paſquillo. It became a cuſtom, at certain ſeaſons, to write on pieces of paper ſatirical epigrams, ſonnets, and other ſhort compoſitions in Latin or Italian, moſtly of a perſonal character, in which the writer declared whatever he had ſeen or heard to the diſcredit of ſomebody, and theſe were publiſhed by depoſiting them with the ſtatue, whence they were taken and read. One of the Latin epigrams which pleads againſt committing theſe ſhort perſonal ſatires to print, calls the time at which it was uſual to compoſe them Paſquil's feſtival :—

Jam redit illa dies in qua Romana juventus
Paſquilli feſtum concelebrabit ovans.
Sed verſus impreſſos obſecro ut edere omittas,
Ne noceant iterum quæ nocuere ſemel.

The feſtival was evidently a favourite one, and well celebrated. "The ſoldiers of Xerxes," ſays another epigram, placed in Paſquil's mouth, "were not ſo plentiful as the paper beſtowed upon me ; I ſhall ſoon become a bookſeller "—

Armigerûm Xerxi non copia tanta papyri
Quanta mihi : fiam bibliopola ſtatim.

The name of Paſquil was ſoon given to the papers which were depoſited with the ſtatue, and eventually a *paſquil*, or *paſquin*, was only another name for a lampoon or libel. Not far from this ſtatue ſtood another, which was found in the forum of Mars (*Martis forum*), and was thence popularly called Marforio. Some of theſe ſatirical writings were compoſed in the form of dialogues between Paſquil and Marforio, or of meſſages from one to the other.

A collection of theſe paſquils was publiſhed in 1544 in two ſmall volumes.* Many of them are extremely clever, and they are ſharply pointed. The popes are frequent objects of bittereſt ſatire. Thus we are reminded in two lines upon pope Alexander VI. (*ſextus*), the infamous Borgia, that Tarquin had been a Sextus, and Nero alſo, and now another Sextus was at

* "Pasquillorum Tomi duo." Eleutheropoli, MDXLIIII.

at the head of the Romans, and told that Rome was always ruined under a Sextus—

De Alexandro VI. Pont.
Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iſte :
Semper ſub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.

The following is given for an epitaph on Lucretia Borgia, pope Alexander's profligate daughter :—

Hoc tumulo dormit Lucretia nomine, ſed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, ſponſa, nurus.

In another of a rather later date, Rome, addreſſing herſelf to Paſquil, is made to complain of two ſucceſſive popes, Clement VII. (Julio de Medicis, 1523-1534) and Paul III. (Alexandro Farneſe, 1534-1549), and alſo of Leo X. (1513-1521). "I am," Rome ſays, "ſick enough with the phyſician (*Medicus*, as a pun on the Medicis), I was alſo the prey of the lion (*Leo*), now, Paul, you tear my vitals like a wolf. You, Paul, are not a god to me, as I thought in my folly, but you are a wolf, ſince you tear the food from my mouth "—

Sum Medico ſatis ægra, fui quoque prœda Leonis,
Nunc mea dilaceras viſcera, Paule, lupus.
Non es, Paule, mihi numen, ceu ſtulta putabam,
Sed lupus es, quoniam ſubtrahis ore cibum.

Another epigram, addreſſed to Rome herſelf, involves a pun in Greek (in the words *Paulos*, Paul, and *Phaulos*, wicked). "Once, Rome," it ſays, "lords of lords were thy ſubjects, now thou in thy wretchedneſs art ſubject to the ſerfs of ſerfs; once you liſtened to the oracles of St. Paul, but now you perform the abominable commands of the wicked "—

Quondam, Roma, tibi ſuberant domini dominorum,
Servorum ſervis nunc miſeranda ſubes;
Audiſti quondam divini oracula Παύλου,
At nunc των φαύλων *juſſa nefanda facis.*

The idea, of courſe, is the contraſt of Rome in her Pagan glory, with Rome in her Chriſtian debaſement, very much the ſame as that which ſtruck

ſtruck Gibbon, and gave birth to his great hiſtory of Rome's "decline and fall."*

The paſquils formed a body of ſatire which ſtruck indiſcriminately at everybody within its range, but ſatiriſts were now riſing who took for their ſubjects ſpecial caſes of the general diſorder. Rotten at the heart, ſociety preſented an external gloſſineſs, a mixture of pedantry and affectation, which offered ſubjects enough for ridicule in whatever point of view it was taken. The eccleſiaſtical body was in a ſtate of fermentation, out of which new feelings and new doctrines were about to riſe. The old learning and literature of the middle ages remained in form after their ſpirit had paſſed away, and they were now contending clumſily and unſucceſsfully againſt new learning and literature of a more refined and healthier character. Feudaliſm itſelf had fallen, or it was ſtruggling vainly againſt new political principles, yet the ariſtocracy clung to feudal forms and feudal aſſumptions, with an exaggeration which was meant for an appearance of ſtrength. Among the literary affectations of this falſe feudaliſm, was the faſhion for reading the long, dry, old romances of chivalry; while the churchmen and ſchoolmen were corrupting the language in which mediæval learning had been expreſſed, into a form the moſt barbarous, or introducing words compounded from the later into the vernacular tongue. Theſe peculiarities were among the firſt to provoke literary ſatire. Italy, where this claſs of ſatire originated, gave it its name alſo, though it appears ſtill to be a matter of doubt why it was called *macaronic*, or in its Italian form *maccharonea*. Some have conſidered this name to have been taken from the article of food called *macaroni*, to which the Italians were, and ſtill are, ſo much attached; while others pretend that it was derived from an old Italian word *macarone*, which meant a lubberly fellow. Be this, however, as it may, what is called macaronic compoſition, which conſiſts in giving a Latin

* Pasquil and Pasquin became, during the latter part of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries, a well-known name in French and English literature. In English popular literature he was turned into a jester, and a book was published in 1604 under the title "Pasquil's Jests; with the Merriments of Mother Bunch. Wittie, pleasant, and delightfull."

Latin form to words taken from the vulgar tongue, and mixing them with words which are purely Latin, was introduced in Italy at the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

Four Italian writers in macaronic verſe are known to have lived before the year 1500.* The firſt of theſe was named Foſſa, and he tells us that he compoſed his poem entitled "Vigonce," on the ſecond day of May, 1494. It was printed in 1502. Baſſano, a native of Mantua, and the author of a macaronic which bears no title, was dead in 1499; and another, a Paduan named Fifi degli Odaſſi, was born about the year 1450. Giovan Georgio Allione, of Aſti, who is believed alſo to have written during the laſt ten years of the fifteenth century, is a name better known through the edition of his French works, publiſhed by Monſieur J. C. Brunet in 1836. All theſe preſent the ſame coarſeneſs and vulgarity of ſentiment, and the ſame licence in language and deſcription, which appear to have been taken as neceſſary characteriſtics of macaronic compoſition. Odaſſi appears to give ſupport to the derivation of the name from macaroni, by making the principal character of his poem a fabricator of that article in Padua—

Eſt unus in Padua natus ſpeciale cuſinus,
In maccharonea princeps bonus atque magiſter.

But the great maſter of macaronic poetry was Teofilo Folengo, of whoſe life we know juſt ſufficient to give us a notion of the perſonal character of theſe old literary caricaturiſts. Folengo was deſcended from a noble family, which had its ſeat at the village of Cipada, near Mantua, where he was born on the 8th of November, 1491, and baptiſed by the name of Girolamo. He purſued his ſtudies, firſt in the univerſity of Ferrara, under the profeſſor Viſago Cocaio, and afterwards in that of Bologna, under Pietro Pomponiazzo; or rather, he ought to have purſued them

* The great authority on the history of Macaronic literature is my excellent friend Monsieur Octave Delepierre, and I will simply refer the reader to his two valuable publications, "Macaronéana, ou Mélanges de Littérature Macaronique des differents Peuples de l'Europe," 8vo., Paris, 1852; and "Macaronéana," 4to, 1863; the latter printed for the Philobiblon Club.

them, for his love of poetry, and his gaiety of character, led him to neglect them, and at length his irregularities became so great, that he was obliged to make a hasty flight from Bologna. He was ill received at home, and he left it also, and appears to have subsequently led a wild life, during part of which he adopted the profession of a soldier, until at length he took refuge in a Benedictine convent near Brescia, in 1507, and became a monk. The discipline of this house had become entirely relaxed, and the monks appear to have lived very licentiously; and Folengo, who, on his admission to the order, had exchanged his former baptismal name for Teofilo, readily conformed to their example. Eventually he abandoned the convent and the habit, ran away with a lady named Girolama Dedia, and for some years he led a wandering, and, it would seem, very irregular life. Finally, in 1527, he returned to his old profession of a monk, and remained in it until his death, in the December of 1544. He is said to have been extremely vain of his poetical talents, and a story is told of him which, even if it were invented, illustrates well the character which was popularly given to him. It is said that when young, he aspired to excel in Latin poetry, and that he wrote an epic which he himself believed to be *superior* to the Æneid. When, however, he had communicated the work to his friend the bishop of Mantua, and that prelate, intending to compliment him, told him that he had equalled Virgil, he was so mortified, that he threw the manuscript on the fire, and from that time devoted his talents entirely to the composition of macaronic verse.

Such was the man who has justly earned the reputation of being the first of macaronic poets. When he adopted this branch of literature, while he was in the university of Bologna, he assumed in writing it the name of Merlinus Cocaius, or Coccaius, probably from the name of his professor at Ferrara. Folengo's printed poems consist of—1. The Zanitonella, a pastoral in seven eclogues, describing the love of Tonellus for Zanina; 2, the macaronic romance of Baldus, Folengo's principal and most remarkable work; 3, the Moschæa, or dreadful battle between the flies and the ants; and 4, a book of Epistles and Epigrams.

The first edition of the Baldus appeared in 1517. It is a sort of parody

parody on the romances of chivalry, and combines a jovial ſatire upon everything, which, as has been remarked, ſpares neither religion nor politics, ſcience nor literature, popes, kings, clergy, nobility, or people. It conſiſts of twenty-five cantos, or, as they are termed in the original, *phantaſiæ*, fantaſies. In the firſt we are told of the origin of Baldus. There was at the court of France a famous knight named Guy, deſcended from that memorable paladin Renaud of Montauban. The king, who ſhowed a particular eſteem for Guy, had alſo a daughter of ſurpaſſing beauty, named Balduine, who had fallen in love with Guy, and he was equally amorous of the princeſs. In the ſequel of a grand tournament, at which Guy has diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, he carries off Balduine, and the two lovers fly on foot, in the diſguiſe of beggars, reach the Alps in ſafety, and croſs them into Italy. At Cipada, in the territory of Breſcia, they are hoſpitably entertained by a generous peaſant named Berte Panade, with whom the princeſs Balduine, who approaches her time of confinement, is left; while her lover goes forth to conquer at leaſt a marquiſate for her. After his departure ſhe gives birth to a fine boy, which is named Baldus. Such, as told in the ſecond canto, is the origin of Folengo's hero, who is deſtined to perform marvellous acts of chivalry. The peaſant Berte Panade has alſo a ſon named Zambellus, by a mother who had died in childbirth of him. Baldus paſſes for the ſon of Berte alſo, ſo that the two are ſuppoſed to be brothers. Baldus is ſucceſſively led through a ſeries of extraordinary adventures, ſome low and vulgar, others more chivalrous, and ſome of them exhibiting a wild fertility of imagination, which are too long to enable me to take my readers through them, until at length he is left by the poet in the country of Falſehood and Charlataniſm, which is inhabited by aſtrologers, necromancers, and poets. Thus is the hero Baldus dragged through a great number of marvellous accidents, ſome of them vulgar, many of them ridiculous, and ſome, again, wildly poetical, but all of them preſenting, in one form or other, an opportunity for ſatire upon ſome of the follies, or vices, or corruptions of his age. The hybrid language in which the whole is written, gives it a ſingularly groteſque appearance; yet from time to time we have paſſages which ſhow that the author was capable of writing true poetry, although

although it is mixed with a great amount of coarſe and licentious ideas, expreſſed no leſs coarſely and licentiouſly. What we may term the filth, indeed, forms a large proportion of the Italian macaronic poetry. The paſtoral of Zanitonella preſents, as might be expected, more poetic beauty than the romance of Balbus. As an example of the language of the latter, and indeed of that of the Italian macaronics in general, I give a few lines of a deſcription of a ſtorm at ſea, from the twelfth canto, with a literal tranſlation :—

Jam gridor æterias hominum concuſſit abyſſos,
Sentiturque ingens cordarum ſtridor, et ipſe
Pontus habet pavidos vultus, mortiſque colores.
Nunc Sirochus habet palmam, nunc Borra ſuperchiat ;
Irrugit pelagus, tangit quoque fluctibus aſtra,
Fulgure flammigero creber lampezat Olympus ;
Vela forata micant crebris lacerata balottis ;
Horrendam mortem nautis ea cuncta minazzant.
Nunc ſbalzata ratis celſum tangebat Olympum,
Nunc ſubit infernam unda ſbadacchiante paludem.

TRANSLATION

Now the clamour of the men ſhook the ethereal abyſſes,
And the mighty craſhing of the ropes is felt, and the very
Sea has pale looks, and the hue of death.
Now the Sirocco has the palm, now Eurus exults over it ;
The ſea roars, and touches the ſtars with its waves,
Olympus continually blazes out with flaming thunder,
The pierced ſails glitter torn with frequent thunderbolts ;
All theſe threaten frightful death to the ſailors.
Now the ſhip toſſed up touched the top of Olympus,
Now, the wave yawning, it ſinks into the infernal lake.

Teofilo Folengo was followed by a number of imitators, of whom it will be ſufficient to ſtate that he ſtands in talent as far above his followers as above thoſe who preceded him. One of theſe minor Italian macaronic writers, named Bartolommeo Bolla, of Bergamo, who flouriſhed in the latter half of the ſixteenth century, had the vanity to call himſelf, in the title of one of his books, " the Apollo of poets, and the Cocaius of this age ;" but a modern critic has remarked of him that he is as far removed from

from his model Folengo, as his native town Bergamo is diſtant from Siberia. An earlier poet, named Guarino Capella, a native of the town of Sarſina, in the country of Forli, on the borders of Tuſcany, approached far nearer in excellence to the prince of macaronic writers. His work alſo is a mock romance, the hiſtory of "Cabrinus, king of Gagamagoga," in ſix books or cantos, which was printed at Arimini in 1526, and is now a book of exceſſive rarity.

The taſte for macaronics paſſed rather early, like all other faſhions in that age, from Italy into France, where it firſt brought into literary reputation a man who, if he had not the great talent of Folengo, poſſeſſed a very conſiderable amount of wit and gaiety. Antoine de la Sable, who Latiniſed his name into Antonius de Arena, was born of a highly reſpectable family at Soliers, in the dioceſe of Toulon, about the year 1500, and, being deſtined from his youth to follow the profeſſion of the law, ſtudied under the celebrated juriſconſult Alciatus. He had only arrived at the ſimple dignity of *juge*, at St. Remy, in the dioceſe of Arles, when he died in the year 1544. In fact, he appears to have been no very diligent ſtudent, and we gather from his own confeſſions that his youth had been rather wild. The volume containing his macaronics, the ſecond edition of which (as far as the editions are known) was printed in 1529, bears a title which will give ſome notion of the character of its contents,—"*Provencalis de bragardiſſima villa de Soleriis, ad ſuos compagnones qui ſunt de perſona friantes, baſſas danſas et branlas practicantes novellas, de guerra Romana, Neapolitana, et Genuenſi mandat; una cum epiſtola ad falotiſſimam ſuam garſam, Janam Roſæam, pro paſſando tempora*"—(*i.e.* a Provençal of the moſt ſwaggering town of Soliers, ſends this to his companions, who are dainty of their perſons, practiſing baſſe dances and new brawls, concerning the war of Rome, Naples, and Genoa; with an epiſtle to his moſt merry wench, Jeanne Roſée, for paſtime). In the firſt of theſe poems Arena traces in his burleſque verſe, which is an imitation of Folengo, his own adventures and ſufferings in the war in Italy which led to the ſack of Rome, in 1527, and in the ſubſequent expeditions to Naples and Genoa. From the picture of the horrors of war, he paſſes very willingly to deſcribe the joyous manners of the ſtudents in Provençal univerſities, of whom he tells

tells us, that they are all fine gallants, and always in love with the pretty girls.

Gentigalantes ſunt omnes inſtudiantes,
Et bellas garſas ſemper amare ſolent.

He goes on to deſcribe the ſcholars as great quarrellers, as well as lovers of the other ſex, and after dwelling on their gaiety and love of the dance, he proceeds to treat in the ſame burleſque ſtyle on the ſubject of dancing; but I paſs over this to ſpeak of Arena's principal piece, the ſatirical deſcription of the invaſion of Provence by the emperor Charles V. in 1536. This curious poem, which is entitled "Meygra Enterpriſa Catoloqui imperatoris," and which extends to upwards of two thouſand lines, opens with a laudatory addreſs to the king of France, François I., and with a ſneer at the pride of the emperor, who, believing himſelf to be the maſter of the whole world, had fooliſhly thought to take away France and the cities of Provence from their rightful monarch. It was Antonio de Leyva, the boaſter, who had put this project into the emperor's head, and they had already pillaged and ravaged a good part of Provence, and were dividing the plunder, when, haraſſed continually by the peaſantry, the invaders were brought to a ſtand by the difficulty of ſubſiſting in a devaſtated country, and by the diſeaſes to which this difficulty gave riſe. Nevertheleſs, the Spaniards and their allies committed terrible devaſtation, which is deſcribed by Arena in ſtrong language. He commemorates the valiant reſiſtance of his native town of Soliers, which, however, was taken and ſacked, and he loſt in it his houſe and property. Arles held the imperialiſts at bay, while the French, under the conſtable Montmorency, eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly at Avignon. At length diſeaſe gained poſſeſſion of Antonio de Leyva himſelf, and the emperor, who had been making an unſucceſsful demonſtration againſt Marſeilles, came to him in his ſickneſs. The firſt lines of the deſcription of this interview, will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the language of the French macaronics:—

Sed de Marſella bragganti quando retornat,
Fort male contentus, quando repoſat eum,
Antonium Levam trobavit forte maladum,
Cui mors terribilis triſte cubile parat.

Ethica torquet eum per coſtas, et dolor ingens:
Cum male res vadit, vivere fachat eum.
Dixerunt medici, ſperanſa eſt nulla ſalutis;
Ethicus in teſta vivere pauca poteſt.
Ante ſuam mortem voluit parlare per horam
Imperelatori, conſiliumque dare.
Scis, Cæſar, ſtricte noſtri groppantur amores,
Namque duas animas corpus utrumque tenet,
Heu! fuge Provenſam fortem, fuge littus amarum,
Pac tibi non noceat gloria tanta modo.

TRANSLATION.

But when he returns from boaſting Marſeilles,
Very ill content, that ſhe had repulſed him,
He found Antonio de Leyva very ill,
For whom terrible death is preparing a ſorrowful bed.
Hectic fever tortures him in the ribs, and great pain;
Since things are going ill, he is weary of life.
Before his death he wiſhed to ſpeak an hour
To the emperor, and to give him counſel.
"You know, Cæſar, our affections are cloſely bound together,
For either body holds the two ſouls,
Alas! fly Provence the ſtrong, fly the bitter ſhore,
Take care that your great glory prove not an injury to you."

Thus Leyva goes on to perſuade the emperor to abandon his enterpriſe, and then dies. Arena exults over his death, and over the emperor's grief for his loſs, and then proceeds to deſcribe the diſaſtrous retreat of the imperial army, and the glory of France in her king.

Antonius de Arena wrote with vigour and humour, but his verſes are tame in compariſon with his model, Folengo. The taſte for macaronic verſe never took ſtrong root in France, and the few obſcure writers who attempted to ſhine in that kind of compoſition are now forgotten, except by the laborious bibliographer. One named Jean Germain, wrote a macaronic hiſtory of the invaſion of Provence by the imperialiſts in rivalry of Arenas. I will not follow the taſte for this claſs of burleſque compoſition into Spain or Germany, but merely add that it was not adopted in England until the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, when ſeveral authors employed it at about the ſame time. The moſt perfect example of theſe early Engliſh macaronics is the "Polemo-Middiana," *i.e.* battle of the

the dunghill, by the talented and elegant-minded Drummond of Hawthornden. We may take a ſingle example of the Engliſh macaronic from this poem, which will not need an Engliſh tranſlation. One of the female characters in the dunghill war, calls, among others, to her aid—

Hunc qui dirtiferas terſit cum diſhclouty diſhras,
Hunc qui gruelias ſcivit bene lickere plettas,
Et ſaltpannifumos, et widebricatos fiſheros,
Hellæoſque etiam ſalteros duxit ab autris,
Coalheughos nigri girnantes more divelli;
Lifeguardamque ſibi ſævas vocat improba laſſas,
Maggyam magis doctam milkare coweas,
Et doctam ſuepare flouras, et ſternere beddas,
Quæque novit ſpinnare, et longas ducere threddas;
Nanſyam, claves bene quæ keepaverat omnes,
Quæque lanam cardare ſolet greaſy-fingria Betty.

Perhaps before this was written, the eccentric Thomas Coryat had publiſhed in the volume of his Crudities, printed in 1611, a ſhort piece of verſe, which is perfect in its macaronic ſtyle, but in which Italian and other foreign words are introduced, as well as Engliſh. The celebrated comedy of "Ignoramus," compoſed by George Ruggle in 1615, may alſo be mentioned as containing many excellent examples of Engliſh macaronics.

While Italy was giving birth to macaronic verſe, the ſatire upon the ignorance and bigotry of the clergy was taking another form in Germany, which aroſe from ſome occurrences which it will be neceſſary to relate. In the midſt of the violent religious agitation at the beginning of the ſixteenth century in Germany, there lived a German Jew named Pfeffercorn, who embraced Chriſtianity, and to ſhow his zeal for his new faith, he obtained from the emperor an edict ordering the Talmud and all the Jewiſh writings which were contrary to the Chriſtian faith to be burnt. There lived at the ſame time a ſcholar of diſtinction, and of more liberal views than moſt of the ſcholaſtics of his time, named John Reuchlin. He was a relative of Melancthon, and was ſecretary to the palſgrave, who was tolerant like himſelf. The Jews, as might be expected, were unwilling to give up their books to be burnt, and Reuchlin wrote in their defence, under the aſſumed name of Capnion, which is a Hebrew

Hebrew tranſlation of his own name of Reuchlin, meaning ſmoke, and urged that it was better to refute the books in queſtion than to burn them. The converted Pfeffercorn replied in a book entitled "Speculum Manuale," in anſwer to which Reuchlin wrote his "Speculum Oculare." The controverſy had already provoked much bigoted ill-feeling againſt Reuchlin. The learned doctors of the univerſity of Cologne eſpouſed the cauſe of Pfeffercorn, and the principal of the univerſity, named in Latin Ortuinus Gratius, ſupported by the Sorbonne in Paris, lent himſelf to be the violent organ of the intolerant party. Hard preſſed by his bigoted opponents, Reuchlin found good allies, but one of the beſt of theſe was a brave baron named Ulric von Hutten, of an old and noble family, born in 1488 in the caſtle of Staeckelberg, in Franconia. He had ſtudied in the ſchools at Fulda, Cologne, and Frankfort on the Oder, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as a ſcholar, that he obtained the degree of Maſter of Arts before the uſual age. But Ulric poſſeſſed an adventurous and chivalrous ſpirit, which led him to embrace the profeſſion of a ſoldier, and he ſerved in the wars in Italy, where he was diſtinguiſhed by his bravery. He was at Rome in 1516, and defended Reuchlin againſt the Dominicans. The ſame year appeared the firſt edition of that marvellous book, the "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," one of the moſt remarkable ſatires that the world has yet ſeen. It is believed that this book came entirely from the pen of Ulric von Hutten; and the notion that Reuchlin himſelf, or any others of his friends, had a ſhare in it appears to be without foundation. Ulric was in the following year made poet-laureat. Nevertheleſs, this book greatly incenſed the monks againſt him, and he was often threatened with aſſaſſination. Yet he boldly advocated the cauſe and embraced the opinions of Luther, and was one of the ſtaunch ſupporters of Lutheraniſm. After a very turbulent life, Ulric von Hutten died in the Auguſt of the year 1523.

The "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," or letters of obſcure men, are ſuppoſed to be addreſſed to Ortuinus Gratius, mentioned above, by various individuals, ſome his ſcholars, others his friends, but all belonging to the bigoted party oppoſed to Reuchlin, and they were deſigned to throw ridicule on the ignorance, bigotry, and immorality of the clergy of the Romiſh

Romiſh church. The old ſcholaſtic learning had become debaſed into a heavy and barbarous ſyſtem of theology, literary compoſition conſiſted in writing a no leſs barbarous Latin, and even the few claſſical writers who were admitted into the ſchools, were explained and commented upon in a ſtrange half-theological faſhion. Theſe old ſcholaſtics were bitterly oppoſed to the new learning, which had taken root in Italy, and was ſpreading abroad, and they ſpoke contemptuouſly of it as "ſecular." The letters of the obſcure individuals relate chiefly to the diſpute between Reuchlin and Pfeffercorn, to the rivalry between the old ſcholarſhip and the new, and to the low licentious lives of the theologiſts; and they are written in a ſtyle of Latin which is intended for a parody on that of the latter, and which cloſely reſembles that which we call "dog-Latin."* They are full of wit and humour of the moſt exquiſite deſcription, but they too often deſcend into details, treated in terms which can only be excuſed by the coarſe and licentious character of the age. The literary and ſcientific queſtions diſcuſſed in theſe letters are often very droll. The firſt in order of the correſpondents of Ortuinus Gratius, who boaſts of the rather formidable name, Thomas Langſchneiderius, and addreſſes maſter Ortuinus as "poet, orator, philoſopher, and theologiſt, and more if he would," propounds to him a difficult queſtion:—

"There was here one day an Aristotelian dinner, and doctors, licenciates, and masters too, were very jovial, and I was there too, and we drank at the first course three draughts of Malmsey, . . . and then we had six dishes of flesh and chickens and capons, and one of fish, and as we passed from one dish to another, we continually drunk wine of Kotzburg and the Rhine, and ale of Embeck, and Thurgen, and Neuburg. And the masters were well satisfied, and said that the new masters had acquitted themselves well and with great honour. Then the masters in their hilarity began to talk learnedly on great questions, and one asked whether it were correct

* This style differs entirely from the macaronic. It consists merely in using the words of the Latin language with the forms and construction of the vulgar tongue, as illustrated by the directions of the professor who, lecturing in the schools, was interrupted by the entrance of a dog, and shouted out to the doorkeeper, *Verte canem ex*, meaning thereby that he should "turn the dog out." It was perhaps from this, or some similar occurrence, that this barbarous Latin gained the name of dog-Latin. The French call it *Latin de cuisine.*

correct to say *magiſter noſtrandus*, or *noſter magiſtrandus*, for a person fit to be made doctor in theology. . . . And immediately Master Warmsemmel, who is a subtle Scotist, and has been master eighteen years, and was in his time twice rejected and thrice delayed for the degree of master, and he went on offering himself, until he was promoted for the honour of the university, . . . spoke, and held that we should say *noſter magiſtrandus*. . . . Then Master Andreas Delitsch, who is very subtle, and half poet, half artist (*i.e.* one who professed in the faculty of arts), physician, and jurist; and now he reads ordinarily 'Ovid on the Metamorphoses,' and expounds all the fables allegorically and literally, and I was his hearer, because he expounds very fundamentally, and he also reads at home Quintillian and Juvencus, and he held the opposite to Master Warmsemmel, and said that we ought to say *magiſter noſtrandus*. For as there is a difference between *magiſter noſter* and *noſter magiſter*, so also there is a difference between *magiſter noſtrandus* and *noſter magiſtrandus*; for a doctor in theology is called *magiſter noſter*, and it is one word, but *noſter magiſter* are two words, and it is taken for any master; and he quoted Horace in support of this. Then the masters much admired his subtlety, and one drank to him a cup of Neuburg ale. And he said, 'I will wait, but spare me,' and touched his hat, and laughed heartily, and drank to Master Warmsemmel, and said, 'There, master, don't think I am an enemy,' and he drank it off at one draught, and Master Warmsemmel replied to him with a strong draught. And the masters were all merry till the bell rang for Vespers."

Maſter Ortuin is preſſed for his judgment on this weighty queſtion. A ſimilar ſcene deſcribed in another letter ends leſs peacefully. The correſpondent on this occaſion is Magiſter Bornharddus Plumilegus, who addreſſes Ortuinus Gratius as follows:—

"Wretched is the mouse which has only one hole for a refuge! So also I may say of myself, most venerable sir, for I should be poor if I had only one friend, and when that one should fail me, then I should not have another to treat me with kindness. As is the case now with a certain poet here, who is called George Sibutus, and he is one of the secular poets, and reads publicly in poetry, and is in other respects a good fellow (*bonus ſocius*). But as you know these poets, when they are not theologists like you, will always reprehend others, and despise the theologists. And once in a drinking party in his house, when we were drinking Thurgen ale, and sat until the hour of tierce, and I was moderately drunk, because that ale rose into my head, then there was one who was not before friendly with me, and I drank to him half a cup, and he accepted it. But afterwards he would not return the compliment. And thrice I cautioned him, and he would not reply, but sat in silence and said nothing. Then I thought to myself, Behold this man treats thee with contempt, and is proud, and always wants to confound you. And I was stirred in my anger, and took the cup, and threw it at his head. Then that poet was angry at me, and said that I had caused a disturbance in his house, and said I should go out of his house in the devil's name. Then I replied, 'What matter is it if you are my enemy?

enemy? I have had as bad enemies as you, and yet I have stood in spite of them. What matters it if you are a poet? I have other poets who are my friends, and they are quite as good as you, *ego bene merdarem in veſtram poetriam!* Do you think I am a fool, or that I was born under a tree like apples?' Then he called me an ass, and said that I never saw a poet. And I said, 'You are an ass in your skin, I have seen many more poets than you.' And I spoke of you. . . . Wherefore I ask you very earnestly to write me one piece of verse, and then I will show it to this poet and others, and I will boast that you are my friend, and you are a much better poet than he."

The war againſt the ſecular poets, or advocates of the new learning, is kept up with ſpirit through this ludicrous correſpondence. One correſpondent preſſes Ortuinus Gratius to "write to me whether it be neceſſary for eternal ſalvation that ſcholars learn grammar from the ſecular poets, ſuch as Virgil, Tullius, Pliny, and others; for," he adds, "it ſeems to me that this is not a good method of ſtudying." "As I have often written to you," ſays another, "I am grieved that this ribaldry (*iſta ribaldria*), namely, the faculty of poetry, becomes common, and is ſpread through all provinces and regions. In my time there was only one poet, who was called Samuel; and now, in this city alone, there are at leaſt twenty, and they vex us all who hold with the ancients. Lately I thoroughly defeated one, who ſaid that *ſcholaris* does not ſignify a perſon who goes to the ſchool for the purpoſe of learning; and I ſaid, 'Aſs! will you correct the holy doctor who expounded this word?'" The new learning was, of courſe, identified with the ſupporters of Reuchlin. "It is ſaid here," continues the ſame correſpondent, "that all the poets will ſide with doctor Reuchlin againſt the theologians. I with all the poets were in the place where pepper grows, that they might let us go in peace!"

Maſter William Lamp, "maſter of arts," ſends to Maſter Ortuinus Gratius, a narrative of his adventures in a journey from Cologne to Rome. Firſt he went to Mayence, where his indignation was moved by the open manner in which people ſpoke in favour of Reuchlin, and when he hazarded a contrary opinion, he was only laughed at, but he held his tongue, becauſe his opponents all carried arms and looked fierce. "One of them is a count, and is a long man, and has white hair; and they ſay that he takes a man in armour in his hand, and throws him to the ground, and

and he has a ſword as long as a giant; when I ſaw him, then I held my tongue." At Worms, he found things no better, for the "doctors" ſpoke bitterly againſt the theologians, and when he attempted to expoſtulate, he got foul words as well as threats, a learned doctor in medicine affirming "*quod merdaret ſuper nos omnes.*" On leaving Worms, Lamp and his companion, another theologiſt, fell in with plunderers who made them pay two florins to drink, "and I ſaid *occulte*, Drink what may the devil bleſs to you!" Subſequently they fell into low amours at country inns, which are deſcribed coarſely, and then they reached Inſprucken, where they found the emperor, and his court and army, with whoſe manners and proceedings Magiſter Lamp became ſorely diſguſted. I paſs over other adventures till they reach Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil, and of a late mediæval Latin poet, named from it Baptiſta Mantuanus. Lamp, in his hoſtile ſpirit towards the "ſecular poets," proceeds,—"And my companion ſaid, 'Here Virgil was born.' I replied, 'What do I care for that pagan? We will go to the Carmelites, and ſee Baptiſta Mantuanus, who is twice as good as Virgil, as I have heard full ten times from Ortuinus;' and I told him how you once reprehended Donatus, when he ſays, 'Virgil was the moſt learned of poets, and the beſt;' and you ſaid, 'If Donatus were here, I would tell him to his face that he lies, for Baptiſta Mantuanus is above Virgil.' And when we came to the monaſtery of the Carmelites, we were told that Baptiſta Mantuanus was dead; then I ſaid, 'May he reſt in peace!'" They continued their journey by Bologna, where they found the inquiſitor Jacob de Hochſtraten, and Florence, to Siena. "After this there are ſmall towns, and one is called Monte-flaſcon, where we drunk excellent wine, ſuch as I never drank in my life. And I aſked the hoſt what that wine is called, and he replied that it is lachryma Chriſti. Then ſaid my companion, 'I with Chriſt would cry in our country!' And ſo we drank a good bout, and two days after we entered Rome."

In the courſe of theſe letters the theologiſts, the poets eſpecially, the character of the clergy, and particularly Reuchlin and Pfeffercorn, afford continual ſubjects for diſpute and pleaſantry. The laſt mentioned individual, in the opinion of ſome, had merited hanging for theft, and it was pretended that the Jews had expelled him from their ſociety for his wicked

wicked courſes. One argued that all Jews ſtink, and as it was well known that Pfeffercorn continued to ſtink like a Jew, it was quite evident that he could not be a good Chriſtian. Some of Ortuinus's correſpondents conſult him on difficult theological queſtions. Here is an example in a letter from one Henricus Schaffmulius, another of his ſcholars who had made the journey to Rome:—

"Since, before I journeyed to the Court, you said to me that I am to write often to you, and that sometimes I am to send you any theological questions, which you will solve for me better than the courtiers of Rome, therefore now I ask your mastership what you hold as to the case when any one on a Friday, or any other fast day, eats an egg, and there is a chicken inside. Because the other day we sat in a tavern in the Campo-flore, and made a collation, and eat eggs, and I, opening an egg, saw that there was a young chicken in it, which I showed to my companion, and then he said, 'Eat it quickly before the host sees it, for if he sees it, then you will be obliged to give a carlino or a julio for a hen, because it is the custom here that, when the host places anything on the table, you must pay for it, for they will not take it back. And when he sees there is a young hen in the egg, he will say, Pay me for the hen, because he reckons a small one the same as a large one.' And I immediately sucked up the egg, and with it the chicken, and afterwards I bethought me that it was Friday, and I said to my companion. 'You have caused me to commit a mortal sin, in eating flesh on Friday.' And he said that it is not a mortal sin, nor even a venial sin, because that embryo of a chicken is not reckoned other than an egg till it is born; and he told me that it is as in cheeses, in which there are sometimes worms, and in cherries, and fresh peas and beans, yet they are eaten on Fridays, and also in the vigils of the apostles. But the hosts are such rogues, that they say that they are flesh, that they may have more money. Then I went away, and thought about it. And, *per Deum!* Magister Ortuinus, I am much troubled, and I know not how I ought to rule myself. If I went to ask advice of a courtier [of the papal court], I know that they have not good consciences. It seems to me that these young hens in the eggs are flesh, because the matter is already formed and figured in members and bodies of an animal, and it has life; it is otherwise with worms in cheeses and other things, because worms are reputed for fishes, as I have heard from a physician, who is a very good naturalist. Therefore I ask you very earnestly, that you will give me your reply on this question. Because if you hold that it is a mortal sin, then I will purchase an absolution here, before I return to Germany. Also you must know that our master Jacobus de Hochstraten has obtained a thousand florins from the bank, and I think that with these he will gain his cause, and the devil confound that John Reuchlin, and the other poets and jurists, because they will be against the church of God, that is, against the theologists, in whom is founded the church, as Christ said: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church. And so I commend you to the Lord God. Farewell. Given from the city of Rome."

While in Italy macaronic literature was reaching its greateſt perfection,

 there

there aroſe in the very centre of France a man of great original genius, who was ſoon to aſtoniſh the world by a new form of ſatire, more groteſque and more comprehenſive than anything that had been ſeen before. Teofilo Folengo may fairly be conſidered as the precurſor of Rabelais; who appears to have taken the Italian ſatiriſt as his model. What we know of the life of François Rabelais is rather obſcure at beſt, and is in ſome parts no doubt fabulous. He was born at Chinon in Touraine, either in 1483 or in 1487, for this ſeems to be a diſputed point, and ſome doubt has been thrown on the trade or profeſſion of his father, but the moſt generally received opinion is that he was an apothecary. He is ſaid to have ſhown from his youth a diſpoſition more inclined to gaiety than to ſerious purſuits, yet at an early age he had made great proficiency in learning, and is ſaid to have acquired a very ſufficient knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, two of which, at leaſt, were not popular among the popiſh clergy, and not only of the modern languages and literature of Italy, Germany, and Spain, but even of Arabic. Probably this eſtimate of his acquirements in learning is rather exaggerated. It is not quite clear where the young Rabelais gained all this knowledge, for he is ſaid to have been educated in convents and among monks, and to have become at a rather early age a Franciſcan friar in the convent of Fontenai-le-Compte, in Lower Poitou, where he became an object of jealouſy and ill-feeling to the other friars by his ſuperior acquirements. It was a tradition, at leaſt, that the conduct of Rabelais was not very ſtrictly conventual, and that he had ſo far ſhown his contempt for monaſtic rule, and for the bigotry of the Romiſh church, that he was condemned to the priſon of his monaſtery, upon a diet of bread and water, which, according to common report, was very uncongenial with the taſtes of this jovial friar. Out of this difficulty he is ſaid to have been helped by his friend the biſhop of Maillezais, who obtained for him the pope's licence to change the order of St. Francis for the much more eaſy and liberal order of St. Benedict, and he became a member of the biſhop's own chapter in the abbey of Maillezais. His unſteady temper, however, was not long ſatisfied with this retreat, which he left, and, laying aſide the regular habit, aſſumed that of a ſecular prieſt. In this character he wandered for

ſome

ſome time, and then ſettled at Montpellier, where he took a degree as doctor in medicine, and practiſed for ſome time with credit. There he publiſhed in 1532 a tranſlation of ſome works of Hippocrates and Galen, which he dedicated to his friend the biſhop of Maillezais. The circumſtances under which he left Montpellier are not known, but he is ſuppoſed to have gone to Paris upon ſome buſineſs of the univerſity, and to have remained there. He found there a ſtaunch friend in Jean de Bellay, biſhop of Paris, who ſoon afterwards was raiſed to the rank of cardinal. When the cardinal de Bellay went as ambaſſador to Rome from the court of France, Rabelais accompanied him, it is ſaid in the character of his private medical adviſer, but during his ſtay in the metropolis of Chriſtendom, as Chriſtendom was underſtood in thoſe days by the Romiſh church, Rabelais obtained, on the 17th of January, 1536, the papal abſolution for all his tranſgreſſions, and licence to return to Maillezais, and practiſe medicine there and elſewhere as an act of charity. Thus he became again a Benedictine monk. He, however, changed again, and became a ſecular canon, and finally ſettled down as the curé of Meudon, near Paris, with which he alſo held a fair number of eccleſiaſtical benefices. Rabelais died in 1553, according to ſome in a very religious manner, but others have given ſtrange accounts of his laſt moments, repreſenting that, even when dying, he converſed in the ſame ſpirit of mockery, not only of Romiſh forms and ceremonies, but of all religions whatever, which was aſcribed to him during his life, and which are but too openly manifeſted in the extraordinary ſatirical romance which has given ſo much celebrity to his name.

During the greater part of his life, Rabelais was expoſed to troubles and perſecutions. He was ſaved from the intrigues of the monks by the friendly influence of popes and cardinals; and the favour of two ſucceſſive kings, François I. and Henri II., protected him againſt the ſtill more dangerous hoſtility of the Sorbonne and the parliament of Paris. This high protection has been advanced as a reaſon for rejecting the anecdotes and accounts which have been commonly received relating to the perſonal character of Rabelais, and his irregularities may poſſibly have been exaggerated by the hatred which he had drawn upon himſelf by his writings.

writings. But nobody, I think, who knows the character of ſociety at that time, who compares what we know of the lives of the other ſatiriſts, and who has read the hiſtory of Gargantua and Pantagruel, will conſider ſuch an argument of much weight againſt the deliberate ſtatements of thoſe who were his contemporaries, or be inclined to doubt that the writer of this hiſtory was a man of jovial character, who loved a good bottle and a broad joke, and perhaps other things that were equally objectionable. His books preſent a ſort of wild riotous orgy, without much order or plan, except the mere outline of the ſtory, in which is diſplayed an extraordinary extent of reading in all claſſes of literature, from the moſt learned to the moſt popular, with a wonderful command of language, great imagination, and ſome poetry, intermixed with a perhaps larger amount of downright obſcene ribaldry, than can be found in the macaronics of Folengo, in the "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," or in the works of any of the other ſatiriſts who had preceded him, or were his contemporaries. It is a broad caricature, poor enough in its ſtory, but enriched with details, which are brilliant with imagery, though generally coarſe, and which are made the occaſions for turning to ridicule everything that exiſted. The five books of this romance were publiſhed ſeparately and at different periods, apparently without any fixed intention of continuing them. The earlier editions of the firſt part were publiſhed without date, but the earlieſt editions with dates belong to the year 1535, when it was ſeveral times reprinted. It appeared as the life of Gargantua. This hero is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed in the firſt half of the fifteenth century, and to have been the ſon of Grandgouſier, king of Utopia, a country which lay ſomewhere in the direction of Chinon, a prince of an ancient dynaſty, but a jovial fellow, who loved good eating and drinking better than anything elſe. Grandgouſier married Gargamelle, daughter of the king of the Parpaillos, who became the mother of Gargantua. The firſt chapters relate rather minutely how the child was born, and came out at its mother's ear, why it was called Gargantua, how it was dreſſed and treated in infancy, what were its amuſements and diſpoſition, and how Gargantua was put to learning under the ſophiſts, and made no progreſs. Thereupon Grandgouſier ſent his ſon to Paris, to

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ſeek inſtruction there, and he proceeds thither mounted on an immenſe mare, which had been ſent as a preſent by the king of Numidia—it muſt be borne in mind that the royal race of Utopia were all giants. At Paris the populace aſſembled tumultuouſly to gratify their curioſity in looking at this new ſcholar; but Gargantua, beſides treating them in a very contemptuous manner, carried off the great bells of Notre Dame to ſuſpend at the neck of his mare. Great was the indignation cauſed by this theft. "All the city was riſen up in ſedition, they being, as you know, upon any ſlight occaſions, ſo ready to uproars and inſurrections, that foreign nations wonder at the patience of the kings of France, who do not by good juſtice reſtrain them from ſuch tumultuous courſes." The citizens take counſel, and reſolve on ſending one of the great orators of the univerſity, Maſter Janotus de Bragmardo, to expoſtulate with Gargantua, and obtain the reſtoration of the bells. The ſpeech which this worthy addreſſes to Gargantua, in fulfilment of his miſſion, is an amuſing parody on the pedantic ſtyle of Pariſian oratory. The bells, however, are recovered, and Gargantua, under ſkilful inſtructors, purſues his ſtudies with credit, until he is ſuddenly called home by a letter from his father. In fact, Grandgouſier was ſuddenly involved in a war with his neighbour Picrocole, king of Lerné, cauſed by a quarrel about cakes between ſome cake-makers of Lerné and Grandgouſier's ſhepherds, in conſequence of which Picrocole had invaded the dominions of Grandgouſier, and was plundering and ravaging them. His warlike humour is ſtirred up by the counſels of his three lieutenants, who perſuade him that he is going to become a great conqueror, and that they will make him maſter of the whole world. It is not difficult to ſee, in the circumſtances of the time, the general aim of the ſatire contained in the hiſtory of this war. It ends in the entire defeat and diſappearance of king Picrocole. A ſenſual and jovial monk named brother Jean des Entommeurs, who has firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his proweſs and ſtrength in defending his own abbey againſt the invaders, contributes largely to the victory gained by Gargantua againſt his father's enemies, and Gargantua rewards him by founding for him that pleaſant abbey of Thélème, a grand eſtabliſhment, ſtored with everything which could contribute to terreſtrial happineſs, from which

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all hypocrites and bigots were to be excluded, and the rule of which was compriſed in the four ſimple words, "Do as you like."

Such is the hiſtory of Gargantua, which was afterwards formed by Rabelais into the firſt book of his great comic romance. It was publiſhed anonymouſly, the author merely deſcribing himſelf as "l'abſtracteur de quinte eſſence;" but he afterwards adopted the pſeudonyme of Alcofribas Naſier, which is merely an anagram of his own name, François Rabelais. A very improbable ſtory has been handed down to us relating to this book. It is pretended that, having publiſhed a book of medical ſcience which had no ſale, and the publiſher complaining that he had loſt money by it, Rabelais promiſed to make amends for his loſs, and immediately wrote the hiſtory of Gargantua, by which the ſame book-ſeller made his fortune. There can be no doubt that this remarkable ſatire had a deeper origin than any caſual accident like this; but it was exactly ſuited to the taſte and temper of the age. It was quite original in its form and ſtyle, and it met with immediate and great ſucceſs. Numerous editions followed each other rapidly, and its author, encouraged by its popularity, very ſoon afterwards produced a ſecond romance, in continuation, to which he gave the title of Pantagruel. The caricature in this ſecond romance is bolder even than in the firſt, the humour broader, and the ſatire more pungent. Grandgouſier has diſappeared from the ſcene, and his ſon, Gargantua, is king, and has a ſon named Pantagruel, whoſe kingdom is that of the Dipſodes. The firſt part of this new romance is occupied chiefly with Pantagruel's youth and education, and is a ſatire on the univerſity and on the lawyers, in which the parodies on their ſtyle of pleading as then practiſed is admirable. In the latter part, Pantagruel, like his father Gargantua, is engaged in great wars. It was perhaps the continued ſucceſs of this new production of his pen which led Rabelais to go on with it, and form the deſign of making theſe two books part only of a more extenſive romance. During his ſtudies in Paris, Pantagruel has made the acquaintance of a ſingular individual named Panurge, who becomes his attached friend and conſtant companion, holding ſomewhat the poſition of brother Jean in the firſt book, but far more crafty and verſatile. The whole ſubject of the third

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book ariſes out of Pantagreul's deſire to marry, and its various amuſing epiſodes deſcribe the different expedients which, at the ſuggeſtion of Panurge, he adopts to arrive at a ſolution of the queſtion whether his marriage would be fortunate or not.

In publiſhing his fourth book, Rabelais complains that his writings had raiſed him enemies, and that he was accuſed of having at leaſt written hereſy. In fact, he had bitterly provoked both the monks and the univerſity and parliament; and, as the increaſing reaction of Romaniſm in France gave more power of perſecution to the two latter, he was not writing without ſome degree of danger, yet the ſatire of each ſucceſſive book became bolder and more direct. The fifth, which was left unfiniſhed at his death, and which was publiſhed poſthumouſly, was the moſt ſevere of them all. The character of Gargantua, indeed, was almoſt forgotten in that of Pantagruel, and Pantagrueliſm became an accepted name for the ſort of gay, reckleſs ſatire of which he was looked upon as the model. He deſcribed it himſelf as a *certaine gaieté d'eſprit conſite en mépris des choſes fortuites*, in fact, neither Romaniſm nor Proteſtantiſm, but ſimply a jovial kind of Epicurianiſm. All the gay wits of the time aſpired to be Plantagrueliſts, and the remainder of the ſixteenth century abounded in wretched imitations of the ſtyle of Rabelais, which are now conſigned as mere rarities to the ſhelves of the bibliophiliſt.

Among the dangers which began to threaten them in France in the earlier part of the ſixteenth century, liberal opinions found an aſylum at the court of a princeſs who was equally diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, by her talents and noble ſentiments, and by her accompliſhments. Marguerite d'Angoulême, queen of Navarre, was the only ſiſter of François I., who was her junior by two years, and was affectionately attached to her. She was born on the 11th of April, 1492. She had married, firſt, that unfortunate duke d'Alençon, whoſe miſconduct at Pavia was the cauſe of the diſaſtrous defeat of the French, and the captivity of their king. The duke died, it was ſaid of grief at his misfortune, in 1525; and two years afterwards, on the 24th of January, 1527, ſhe married Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre. Their daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, carried this petty royalty to the houſe of Bourbon, and was the mother of Henri IV.

Marguerite

Marguerite held her court in true princely manner in the caſtle of Pau or at Nérac, and ſhe loved to ſurround herſelf with a circle of men remarkable for their character and talents, and ladies diſtinguiſhed by beauty and accompliſhments, which made it rival in brilliance even that of her brother François. She placed neareſt to her perſon, under the character of her *valets-de-chambre*, the principal poets and *beaux-eſprits* of her time, ſuch as Clement Marot, Bonaventure des Periers, Claude Gruget, Antoine du Moulin, and Jean de la Haye, and admitted them to ſuch a tender familiarity of intercourſe, as to excite the jealouſy of the king her huſband, from whoſe ill-treatment ſhe was only protected by her brother's interference. The poets called her chamber a "veritable Parnaſſus." Hers was certainly a great mind, greedy of knowledge, diſſatisfied with what was, and eager for novelties, and therefore ſhe encouraged all who ſought for them. It was in this ſpirit, combined with her earneſt love for letters, that ſhe threw her protection over both the ſceptics and the religious reformers. At the beginning of the perſecutions, as early as 1523, ſhe openly declared herſelf the advocate of the Proteſtants. When Clement Marot was arreſted by order of the Sorbonne and the Inquiſitor on the charge of having eaten bacon in Lent, Marguerite cauſed him to be liberated from priſon, in defiance of his perſecutors. Some of the pureſt and ableſt of the early French reformers, ſuch as Rouſſel and Le Fèvre d'Etaples, and Calvin himſelf, found a ſafe aſylum from danger in her dominions. As might be ſuppoſed, the bigoted party were bitterly incenſed againſt the queen of Navarre, and were not backward in taking advantage of an opportunity for ſhowing it. A moral treatiſe, entitled "Le Miroir de l'Ame Péchereſſe," of which Marguerite was the author, was condemned by the Sorbonne in 1533, but the king compelled the univerſity, in the perſon of its rector, Nicolas Cop, to diſavow publicly the cenſure. This was followed by a ſtill greater act of inſolence, for, at the inſtigation of ſome of the more bigoted papiſts, the ſcholars of the college of Navarre, in concert with their regents, performed a farce in which Marguerite was transformed into a fury of hell. François I., greatly indignant, ſent his archers to arreſt the offenders, who further provoked his anger by reſiſtance

reſiſtance, and only obtained their pardon through the generous interceſſion of the princeſs whom they had ſo groſſly inſulted.

Marguerite was herſelf a poeteſs, and ſhe loved above all things thoſe gay, and ſeldom very delicate, ſtories, the telling of which was at that time one of the favourite amuſements of the evening, and one in which ſhe was known to excel. Her poetical writings were collected and printed, under her own authority, in 1547, by her then *valet-de-chambre*, Jean de la Haye, who dedicated the volume to her daughter. They are all graceful, and ſome of them worthy of the beſt poets of her time. The title of this collection was, punning upon her name, which means a pearl, "Marguerites de la Marguerite des princeſſes, très illuſtre reyne de Navarre." Marguerite's ſtories (*nouvelles*) were more celebrated than her verſes, and are ſaid to have been committed to writing under her own dictation. All the ladies of her court poſſeſſed copies of them in writing. It is underſtood to have been her intention to form them into ten days' tales, of ten in each day, ſo as to reſemble the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, but only eight days were finiſhed at the time of her death, and the imperfect work was publiſhed poſthumouſly by her *valet-de-chambre*, Claude Gruget, under the title of "L'Heptameron, ou Hiſtoire des Amants Fortunés." It is by far the beſt collection of ſtories of the ſixteenth century. They are told charmingly, in language which is a perfect model of French compoſition of that age, but they are all tales of gallantry ſuch as could only be repeated in polite ſociety in an age which was eſſentially licentious. Queen Marguerite died on the 21ſt of December, 1549, and was buried in the cathedral of Pau. Her death was a ſubject of regret to all that was good and all that was poetic, not only in France, but in Europe, which had been accuſtomed to look upon her as the tenth Muſe and the fourth Grace :—

Muſarum decima et Charitum quarta, inclyta regum
Et ſoror et conjux, Margarita illa jacet.

Before Marguerite's death, her literary circle had been broken up by the hatred of religious perſecutors. Already, in 1536, the imprudent boldneſs of Marot had rendered it impoſſible to protect him any longer,

and he had been obliged to retire to a place of concealment, from whence he ſometimes paid a ſtealthy viſit to her court. His place of *valet-de-chamlre* was given to a man of talents, even more remarkable, and who ſhared equally the perſonal eſteem of the queen of Navarre, Bonaventure des Periers. Marot's ſucceſſor paid a graceful compliment to him in a ſhort poem entitled "L'Apologie de Marot abſent," publiſhed in 1537. The earlier part of the year following witneſſed the publication of the moſt remarkable work of Bonaventure des Periers, the "Cymbalum Mundi," concerning the real character of which writers are ſtill divided in opinion. In it Des Periers introduced a new form of ſatire, imitated from the dialogues of Lucian. The book conſiſts of four dialogues, written in language which forms a model of French compoſition, the perſonages introduced in them intended evidently to repreſent living characters, whoſe names are concealed in anagrams and other devices, among whom was Clement Marot. It was the boldeſt declaration of ſcepticiſm which had yet iſſued from the Epicurean ſchool repreſented by Rabelais. The author ſneers at the Romiſh church as an impoſture, ridicules the Proteſtants as ſeekers after the philoſopher's ſtone, and ſhows diſreſpect to Chriſtianity itſelf. Such a book could hardly be publiſhed in Paris with impunity, yet it was printed there, ſecretly, it is ſaid, by a well-known bookſeller, Jean Morin, in the Rue St. Jacques, and therefore in the immediate vicinity of the perſecuting Sorbonne. Private information had been given of the character of this work, poſſibly by the printer himſelf or by one of his men, and on the 6th of March, 1538, when it was on the eve of publication, the whole impreſſion was ſeized at the printer's, and Morin himſelf was arreſted and thrown into priſon. He was treated rigorouſly, and is underſtood to have eſcaped only by diſavowing all knowledge of the character of the book, and giving up the name of the author. The firſt edition of the "Cymbalum Mundi" was burnt, and Bonaventure des Periers, alarmed by the perſonal dangers in which he was thus involved, retired from the court of the queen of Navarre, and took refuge in the city of Lyons, where liberal opinions at that time found a greater degree of tolerance than elſewhere. There he printed a ſecond edition of the "Cymbalum Mundi," which

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alſo was burnt, and copies of either edition are now exceſſively rare.* Bonaventure des Periers felt ſo much the weight of the perſecution in which he had now involved himſelf, that, in the year 1539, as far as can be aſcertained, he put an end to his own exiſtence. This event caſt a gloom over the court of the queen of Navarre, from which it ſeems never to have entirely recovered. The ſchool of ſcepticiſm to which Des Periers belonged had now fallen into equal diſcredit with Catholics and Proteſtants, and the latter looked upon Marguerite herſelf, who had latterly conformed outwardly with Romaniſm, as an apoſtate from their cauſe. Henri Eſtienne, in his "Apologie pour Herodote," ſpeaks of the "Cymbalum Mundi" as an infamous book.

Bonaventure des Periers left behind him another work more amuſing to us at the preſent day, and more characteriſtic of the literary taſtes of the court of Marguerite of Navarre. This is a collection of facetious ſtories, which was publiſhed ſeveral years after the death of its author, under the title of "Les Contes, ou Les Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis de Bonaventure des Periers." They have ſome reſemblance in ſtyle to the ſtories of the Heptameron, but are ſhorter, and rather more facetious, and are characteriſed by their bitter ſpirit of ſatire againſt the monks and popiſh clergy. Some of theſe ſtories remind us, in their peculiar character and tone, of the "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," as, for an example, the following, which is given as an anecdote of the curé de Brou :—

"This curé had a way of his own to chant the different offices of the church, and above all he disliked the way of saying the Passion in the manner it was ordinarily said in churches, and he chanted it quite differently. For when our Lord said anything to the Jews, or to Pilate, he made him talk high and loud, so that everybody could hear him, and when it was the Jews or somebody else who spoke, he spoke so low that he could hardly be heard at all. It happened that a lady of rank and importance, on her way to Châteaudun, to keep there the festival of Easter, passed through Brou on Good Friday, about ten o'clock in the morning, and,

* A cheap and convenient edition of the "Cymbalum Mundi," edited by the Bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix), was published in Paris in 1841. I may here state that similar editions of the principal French satirists of the sixteenth century have been printed during the last twenty-five years.

and, wishing to hear service, she went to the church where the curé was officiating. When it came to the Passion, he said it in his own manner, and made the whole church ring again when he said *Quem quæritis?* But when it came to the reply, *Jeſum Nazarenum*, he spoke as low as he possibly could. And in this manner he continued the Passion. The lady, who was very devout, and, for a woman, well informed in the holy scriptures, and attentive to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, felt scandalised at this mode of chanting, and wished she had never entered the church. She had a mind to speak to the curé, and tell him what she thought of it; and for this purpose sent for him to come to her after the service. When he came, she said to him, 'Monsieur le Curé, I don't know where you learnt to officiate on a day like this, when the people ought to be all humility; but to hear you perform the service, is enough to drive away anybody's devotion.' 'How so, madame?' said the curé. 'How so?' said she, 'you have said a Passion contrary to all rules of decency. When our Lord speaks, you cry as if you were in the town-hall; and when it is a Caiaphas, or Pilate, or the Jews, you speak softly like a young bride. Is this becoming in one like you? are you fit to be a curé? If you had what you deserve, you would be turned out of your benefice, and then you would be made to know your fault!' When the curé had very attentively listened to her, he said, 'Is this what you had to say to me, madame? By my soul! it is very true, what they say; and the truth is, that there are many people who talk of things which they do not understand. Madame, I believe that I know my office as well as another, and I beg all the world to know that God is as well served in this parish, according to its condition, as in any place within a hundred leagues of it. I know very well that the other curés chant the Passion quite differently; I could easily chant it like them if I would; but they do not understand their business at all. I should like to know if it becomes those rogues of Jews to speak as loud as our Lord! No, no, madame; rest assured that in my parish it is my will that God be the master, and He shall be as long as I live; and let the others do in their parishes according to their understanding.'"

Another ſtory, equally worthy of Ulric von Hutten, is ſatirical enough on prieſtly pedantry:—

"There was a priest of a village who was as proud as might be, because he had seen a little more than his Cato; for he had read *De Syntaxi*, and his *Fauſte precor gelida* [the first eclogue of Baptista Mantuanus]. And this made him set up his feathers, and talk very grand, using words that filled his mouth, in order to make people think him a great doctor. Even at confession, he made use of terms which astonished the poor people. One day he was confessing a poor working man, of whom he asked, 'Here, now, my friend, tell me, art thou ambitious?' The poor man said 'No,' thinking this was a word which belonged to great lords, and almost repented of having come to confess to this priest; for he had already heard that he was such a great clerk, and that he spoke so grandly, that nobody understood him, which he now knew by this word *ambitious*; for although he might have heard it somewhere, yet he did not know at all what it was. The priest went on to ask, 'Art thou not a fornicator?' 'No,' said the labourer, who understood as little as before.

before. 'Art thou not a gourmand?' said the priest. 'No.' 'Art thou not superbe [*proud*]?' 'No.' 'Art thou not iracund?' 'No.' The priest seeing the man answer always 'No,' was somewhat surprised. 'Art thou not concupiscent?'. 'No.' 'And what art thou, then?' said the priest. 'I am,' said he, 'a mason; here is my trowel!'"

At this time "Pantagrueliſm" had mixed itſelf more or leſs largely in all the ſatirical literature of France. It is very apparent in the writings of Bonaventure des Periers, and in a conſiderable number of ſatirical publications which now iſſued, many of them anonymouſly, or under the then faſhionable form of anagrams, from the preſs in France. Among theſe writers were a few who, though far inferior to Rabelais, may be conſidered as not unequal to Des Periers himſelf. One of the moſt remarkable of theſe was a gentleman of Britany, Noel du Fail, lord of La Hériſſaye, who was, like ſo many of theſe ſatiriſts, a lawyer, and who died, apparently at an advanced age, at the end of 1585, or beginning of 1586. In his publications, according to the faſhion of that age, he concealed his name under an anagram, and called himſelf Leon Ladulfil (doubling the *l* in the name Fail). Noel du Fail has been called the ape of Rabelais, though the mere imitation is not very apparent. He publiſhed (as far as has been aſcertained), in 1548, his "Diſcours d'aucuns propos ruſtiques facétieux, et de ſingulière récréation." This was followed immediately by a work entitled "Baliverneries, ou Contes Nouveaux d'Eutrapel;" but his laſt, and moſt celebrated book, the "Contes et Diſcours d'Eutrapel," was not printed until 1586, after the death of its author. The writings of Noel du Fail are full of charming pictures of rural life in the ſixteenth century, and, though ſufficiently free, they preſent leſs than moſt ſimilar books of that period of the coarſeneſs of Rabelais. I cannot ſay the ſame of a book which is much more celebrated than either of theſe, and the hiſtory of which is ſtill enveloped in obſcurity. I mean the "Moyen de Pārvenir." This book, which is full of wit and humour, but the licentiouſneſs of which is carried to a degree which renders it unreadable at the preſent day, is now aſcribed by bibliographers, in its preſent form, to Béroälde de Verville, a gentleman of a Proteſtant family who had embraced Catholiciſm, and obtained advancements in the church, and it was not printed until 1610, but it is ſuppoſed that in its preſent form

form it is only a reviſion of an earlier compoſition, perhaps even an unacknowledged work of Rabelais himſelf, which had been preſerved in manuſcript in Beroald's family.

Pantagrueliſm, or, if you like, Rabelaiſm, did not, during the ſixteenth century, make much progreſs beyond the limits of France. In the Teutonic countries of Europe, and in England, the ſceptical ſentiment was ſmall in compariſon with the religious feeling, and the only ſatirical work at all reſembling thoſe we have been deſcribing, was the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More, a work comparatively ſpiritleſs, and which produced a very ſlight ſenſation. In Spain, the ſtate of ſocial feeling was ſtill leſs favourable to the writings of Rabelais, yet he had there a worthy and true repreſentative in the author of Don Quixote. It was only in the ſeventeenth century that the works of Rabelais were tranſlated into Engliſh; but we muſt not forget that our ſatiriſts of the laſt century, ſuch as Swift and Sterne, derived their inſpiration chiefly from Rabelais, and from the Pantagrueliſtic writers of the latter half of the ſixteenth century. Theſe latter were moſt of them poor imitators of their original, and, like all poor imitators, purſued to exaggeration his leaſt worthy characteriſtics. There is ſtill ſome humour in the writings of Tabourot, the ſieur des Accords, eſpecially in his "Bigarrures," but the later productions, which appeared under ſuch names as Bruſcambille and Tabarin, ſink into mere dull ribaldry.

There had ariſen, however, by the ſide of this ſatire which ſmelt ſomewhat too much of the tavern, another ſatire, more ſerious, which ſtill contained a little of the ſtyle of Rabelais. The French Proteſtants at firſt looked upon Rabelais as one of their towers of ſtrength, and embraced with gratitude the powerful protection they received from the graceful queen of Navarre; but their gratitude failed them, when Marguerite, though ſhe never ceaſed to give them her protection, conformed outwardly, from attachment to her brother, to the forms of the Catholic faith, and they rejected the ſchool of Rabelais as a mere ſchool of Atheiſts. Among them aroſe another ſchool of ſatire, a ſort of branch from the other, which was repreſented in its infancy by the celebrated ſcholar and printer, Henri Eſtienne, better known among us as Henry Stephens.

The

The remarkable book called an "Apologie pour Herodote," aroſe out of an attack upon its writer by the Romaniſts. Henri Eſtienne, who was known as a ſtaunch Proteſtant, publiſhed, at great expenſe, an edition of Herodotus in Greek and Latin, and the zealous Catholics, out of ſpite to the editor, decried his author, and ſpoke of Herodotus as a mere collector of monſtrous and incredible tales. Eſtienne, in revenge, publiſhed what, under the form of an apology for Herodotus, was really a violent attack on the Romiſh church. His argument is that all hiſtorians muſt relate tranſactions which appear to many incredible, and that the events of modern times were much more incredible, if they were not known to be true, than anything which is recorded by the hiſtorian of antiquity. After an introductory diſſertation on the light in which we ought to regard the fable of the Golden Age, and on the moral character of the ancient peoples, he goes on to ſhow that their depravity was much leſs than that of the middle ages and of his own time, indeed of all periods during which people were governed by the Church of Rome. Not only did this diſſoluteneſs of morals pervade lay ſociety, but the clergy were more vicious even than the people, to whom they ought to ſerve as an example. A large part of the book is filled with anecdotes of the immoral lives of the popiſh clergy of the ſixteenth century, and of their ignorance and bigotry; and he deſcribes in detail the methods employed by the Romiſh church to keep the maſs of the people in ignorance, and to repreſs all attempts at inquiry. Out of all this, he ſays, had riſen a ſchool of atheiſts and ſcoffers, repreſented by Rabelais and Bonaventure des Periers, both of whom he mentions by name.

As we approach the end of the ſixteenth century, the ſtruggle of parties became more political than religious, but not leſs bitter than before. The literature of the age of that celebrated "Ligue," which ſeemed at one time deſtined to overthrow the ancient royalty of France, conſiſted chiefly of libellous and abuſive pamphlets, but in the midſt of them there appeared a work far ſuperior to any purely political ſatire which had yet been ſeen, and the fame of which has never paſſed away. Its object was to turn to ridicule the meeting of the Eſtates of France, convoked by the duke of Mayenne, as leader of the Ligue, and held at Paris

Paris on the 10th of February, 1503. The grand object of this meeting was to exclude Henri IV. from the throne; and the Spaniſh party propoſed to aboliſh the Salic law, and proclaim the infanta of Spain queen of France. The French ligueurs propoſed plans hardly leſs unpatriotic, and the duke of Mayenne, indignant at the ſmall account made of his own perſonal pretenſions, prorogued the meeting, and perſuaded the two parties to hold what proved a fruitleſs conference at Sureſne. It was the meeting of the Eſtates in Paris which gave riſe to that celebrated *Satyre Ménippée*, of which it was ſaid, that it ſerved the cauſe of Henri IV. as much as the battle of Ivry itſelf.

This ſatire originated among a party of friends, of men diſtinguiſhed by learning, wit, and talent, though moſt of their names are obſcure, who uſed to meet in an evening in the hoſpitable houſe of one of them, Jacques Gillot, on the Quai des Orfèvres in Paris, and there talk ſatirically over the violence and inſolence of the ligueurs. They all belonged either to the bar or to the univerſity, or to the church. Gillot himſelf, a Burgundian, born about the year 1560, had been a dean in the church of Langres, and afterwards canon of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and was at this time conſeiller-clerc to the parliament of Paris. In 1589 he was committed to the Baſtille, but was ſoon afterwards liberated. Nicolas Rapin, one of his friends, was born in 1535, and was ſaid to have been the ſon of a prieſt, and therefore illegitimate. He was a lawyer, a poet, and a ſoldier, for he fought bravely in the ranks of Henri IV. at Ivry, and his devotion to that prince was ſo well known, that he was baniſhed from Paris by the ligueurs, but had returned thither before the meeting of the Eſtates in 1593. Jean Paſſerat, born in 1534, was alſo a poet, and a profeſſor in the Collège Royal. Florent Chriſtien, born at Orleans in 1540, had been the tutor of Henri IV., and was well known as a man of ſound learning. The moſt learned of the party was Pierre Pithou, born at Troyes in 1539, who had abjured Calviniſm to return to Romaniſm, and who held a diſtinguiſhed poſition at the French bar. The laſt of this little party of men of letters was a canon of Rouen named Pierre le Roy, a patriotic eccleſiaſtic, who held the office of almoner to the cardinal de Bourbon. It was Le Roy who drew up the firſt ſketch of the

" Satyre

"Satyre Ménippée," each of the others executed his part in the compoſition, and Pithou finally reviſed it. For ſeveral years this remarkable ſatire circulated only ſecretly, and in manuſcript, and it was not printed until Henri IV. was eſtabliſhed on the throne.

The ſatire opens with an account of the virtues of the "Catholicon," or noſtrum for curing all political diſeaſes, or the *higuiero d'infierno*, which had been ſo effective in the hands of the Spaniards, who invented it. Some of theſe are extraordinary enough. If, we are told, the lieutenant of Don Philip "have ſome of this Catholicon on his flags, he will enter without a blow into an enemy's country, and they will meet him with croſſes and banners, legates and primates; and though he ruin, ravage, uſurp, maſſacre, and ſack everything, and carry away, raviſh, burn, and reduce everything to a deſert, the people of the country will ſay, 'Theſe are our friends, they are good Catholics; they do it for our peace, and for our mother holy church.'" "If an indolent king amuſe himſelf with refining this drug in his eſcurial, let him write a word into Flanders to Father Ignatius, ſealed with the Catholicon, he will find him a man who (*ſalva conſcientia*) will aſſaſſinate his enemy whom he has not been able to conquer by arms in twenty years." This, of courſe, is an alluſion to the murder of the prince of Orange. "If this king propoſes to aſſure his eſtates to his children after his death, and to invade another's kingdom at little expenſe, let him write a word to Mendoza, his ambaſſador, or to Father Commelet (one of the moſt ſeditious orators of the Ligue), and if he write with the *higuiero del infierno*, at the bottom of his letter, the words *Yo el Rey*, they will furniſh him with an apoſtate monk, who will go under a fair ſemblance, like a Judas, and aſſaſſinate in cold blood a great king of France, his brother-in-law, in the middle of his camp, without fear of God or men; they will do more, they will canoniſe the murderer, and place this Judas above St. Peter, and baptiſe this prodigious and horrible crime with the name of a providential event, of which the god-fathers will be cardinals, legates, and primates." The alluſion here is to the aſſaſſination of Henri III. by Jacques Clement. Theſe are but a few of the marvellous properties of the political drug, after the enumeration of which the report of the meeting of the Eſtates is introduced by a

burleſque deſcription of the grand proceſſion which preceded it. Then we are introduced to the hall of aſſembly, and different ſubjects pictured on the tapeſtries which cover its walls, all having reference to the politics of the Ligue, are deſcribed fully. Then we come to the report of the meeting, and to the ſpeeches of the different ſpeakers, each of which is a model of ſatire. It is not known which of the little club of ſatiriſts wrote the open ſpeech of the duke of Mayenne, but that of the Roman legate is known to be the work of Gillot, and that of the cardinal de Pelvé, a maſterpiece of Latin in the ſtyle of the "Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum," was written by Florent Chreſtien. Nicolas Rapin compoſed the "harangue" placed in the mouth of the archbiſhop of Lyons, as well as that of Roſe, the rector of the univerſity; and the long ſpeech of Claude d'Aubray was by Pithou. Paſſerat compoſed moſt of the verſes which are ſcattered through the book, and it is underſtood that Pithon finally reviſed the whole. This mock report of the meeting of the Eſtates cloſes with a deſcription of a ſeries of political pictures which are arranged on the wall of the ſtaircaſe of the hall.

Theſe pictures, as well as thoſe on the tapeſtries of the hall of meeting, are ſimply ſo many caricatures, and the ſame may be ſaid of another ſet of pictures, of which a deſcription is given in one of the ſatirical pieces which followed the "Satyre Ménippée," on the ſame ſide, entitled, "Hiſtoire des Singeries de la Ligue." It was amid the political turmoil of the ſixteenth century in France that modern political caricature took its riſe.

CHAPTER XX.

POLITICAL CARICATURE IN ITS INFANCY.—THE REVERS DU JEU DES SUYSSES.—CARICATURE IN FRANCE.—THE THREE ORDERS.—PERIOD OF THE LEAGUE; CARICATURES AGAINST HENRI III.—CARICATURES AGAINST THE LEAGUE.—CARICATURE IN FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—GENÉRAL GALAS.—THE QUARREL OF AMBASSADORS.—CARICATURE AGAINST LOUIS XIV.; WILLIAM OF FÜRSTEMBERG.

It has been already remarked that political caricature, in the modern ſenſe of the word, or even perſonal caricature, was inconſiſtent with the ſtate of things in the middle ages, until the arts of engraving and printing became ſufficiently developed, becauſe it requires the facility of quick and extenſive circulation. The political or ſatirical ſong was carried everywhere by the minſtrel, but the ſatirical picture, repreſented only in ſome ſolitary ſculpture or illumination, could hardly be finiſhed before it had become uſeleſs even in the ſmall ſphere of its influence, and then remained for ages a ſtrange figure, with no meaning that could be underſtood. No ſooner, however, was the art of printing introduced, than the importance of political caricature was underſtood and turned to account. We have ſeen what a powerful agent it became in the Reformation, which in ſpirit was no leſs political than religious; but even before the great religious movement had begun, this agent had been brought into activity. One of the earlieſt engravings which can be called a caricature —perhaps the oldeſt of our modern caricatures known—is repreſented in our cut No. 171, is no doubt French, and belongs to the year 1499. It is ſufficiently explained by the hiſtory of the time.

At the date juſt mentioned, Louis XII. of France, who had been king leſs than twelve months, was newly married to Anne of Britany, and had reſolved upon an expedition into Italy, to unite the crown of Naples with

with that of France. Such an expedition affected many political intereſts, and Louis had to employ a certain amount of diplomacy with his neighbours, ſeveral of whom were ſtrongly oppoſed to his projects of ambition, and among thoſe who acted moſt openly were the Swiſs, who were

No. 171. *The Political Game of Cards.*

believed to have been ſecretly ſupported by England and the Netherlands. Louis, however, overcame their oppoſition, and obtained a renewal of the alliance which had expired with his predeceſſor Charles VIII. This temporary difficulty with the Swiſs is the ſubject of our caricature, the original of which bears the title "Le Revers du Jeu des Suyſſes" (the defeat of the game of the Swiſs). The princes moſt intereſted are aſſembled round a card-table, at which are ſeated the king of France to the right, oppoſite him the Swiſs, and in front the doge of Venice, who

was

was in alliance with the French againſt Milan. At the moment repreſented, the king of France is announcing that he has a fluſh of cards, the Swiſs acknowledges the weakneſs of his hand, and the doge lays down his cards—in fact, Louis XII. has won the game. But the point of the caricature lies principally in the group around. To the extreme right the king of England, Henry VII., diſtinguiſhed by his three armorial lions, and the king of Spain, are engaged in earneſt converſation. Behind the former ſtands the infanta Margarita, who is evidently winking at the Swiſs to give him information of the ſtate of the cards of his opponents. At her ſide ſtands the duke of Wirtemberg, and juſt before him the pope, the infamous Alexander VI. (Borgia), who, though in alliance with Louis, is not able, with all his efforts, to read the king's game, and looks on with evident anxiety. Behind the doge of Venice ſtands the Italian refugee, Trivulci, an able warrior, devoted to the intereſts of France; and at the doge's right hand, the emperor, holding in his hands another pack of cards, and apparently exulting in the belief that he has thrown confuſion into the king of France's game. In the background to the left are ſeen the count Palatine and the marquis of Montferrat, who alſo look uncertain about the reſult; and below the former appears the duke of Savoy, who was giving aſſiſtance to the French deſigns. The duke of Lorraine is ſerving drink to the gamblers, while the duke of Milan, who was at this time playing rather a double part, is gathering up the cards which have fallen to the ground, in order to make a game for himſelf. Louis XII. carried his deſigns into execution; the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, nick-named the Moor, played his cards badly, loſt his duchy, and died in priſon.

Such is this earlieſt of political caricatures—and in this caſe it was purely political—but the queſtion of religion ſoon began not only to mix itſelf up with the political queſtion, but almoſt to abſorb it, as we have ſeen in the review of the hiſtory of caricature under the Reformation. Before this period, indeed, political caricature was only an affair between crowned heads, or between kings and their nobles, but the religious agitation had originated a vaſt ſocial movement, which brought into play popular feelings and paſſions: theſe gave caricature a totally new value.

Its

Its power was greateſt on the middle and lower claſſes of ſociety, that is, on the people, the *tiers état*, which was now thrown prominently forward. The new ſocial theory is proclaimed in a print, of which a fac-ſimile will be found in the "Muſée de la Caricature," by E. J. Jaime; and which, from the ſtyle and coſtume, appears to be German. The three orders, the church, the lord of the land, and the people, repreſented reſpectively by a biſhop, a knight, and a cultivator, ſtand upon the globe in an honourable equality, each receiving direct from heaven the emblems or implements of his duties. To the biſhop is delivered his bible, to the huſband-

No. 172. *The Three Orders of the State.*

man his mattock, and to the knight the ſword with which he is to protect and defend the others. This print—ſee cut No. 172—which bears the title, in Latin, "Quis te prætulit?" (Who choſe thee?) belongs probably to the earlier half of the ſixteenth century. A painting in the Hôtel de Ville of Aix, in Provence, repreſents the ſame ſubject much more ſatirically, intending to delineate the three orders as they were, and not

not as they ought to be. The divine hand is letting down from heaven an immenſe frame in the form of a heart, in which is a picture repreſenting a king kneeling before the croſs, intimating that the civil power was to be ſubordinate to the eccleſiaſtical. The three orders are repreſented by a cardinal, a noble, and a peaſant, the latter of whom is bending under the burthen of the heart, the whole of which is thrown upon his ſhoulders, while the cardinal and the noble, the latter dreſſed in the faſhionable attire of the court minions of the day, are placing one hand to the heart on each ſide, in a manner which ſhows that they ſupport none of the weight.

Amid the fierce agitation which fell upon France in the ſixteenth century, for a while we find but few traces of the employment of caricature by either party. The religious reformation there was rather ariſtocratic than popular, and the reformers ſought leſs to excite the feelings of the multitude, which, indeed, went generally in the contrary direction. There was, moreover, a character of gloom in the religion of Calvin, which contraſted ſtrongly with the joyouſneſs of that of the followers of Luther; and the factions in France ſought to ſlaughter, rather than to laugh at, each other. The few caricatures of this period which are known, are very bitter and coarſe. As far as I am aware, no early Huguenot caricatures are known, but there are a few directed againſt the Huguenots. It was, however, with the riſe of the Ligue that the taſte for political caricature may be ſaid to have taken root in France, and in that country it long continued to flouriſh more than anywhere elſe. The firſt caricatures of the ligueurs were directed againſt the perſon of the king, Henri de Valois, and poſſeſs a brutality almoſt beyond deſcription. It was now an object to keep up the bitterneſs of ſpirit of the fanatical multitude. In one of theſe caricatures a demon is repreſented waiting on the king to ſummon him to a meeting of the "Eſtates" in hell; and in the diſtance we ſee another demon flying away with him. Another relates to the murder of the Guiſes, in 1588, which the ligueurs profeſſed to aſcribe to the councils of M. d'Epernon, one of his favourites, on whom they looked with great hatred. It is entitled, "Soufflement et Conſeil diabolique de d'Epernon à Henri de Valois pour ſaccager les Catholiques."

In

In the middle of the picture ſtands the king, and beſide him D'Epernon, who is blowing into his ear with a bellows. On the ground before them lie the headleſs corpſes of the *deux frères Catholiques*, the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, while the executioner of royal vengeance is holding up their heads by the hair. In the diſtance is ſeen the caſtle of Blois, in which this tragedy took place; and on the left of the picture appear the cardinal de Bourbon, the archbiſhop of Blois, and other friends of the Guiſes, expreſſing their horror at the deed. Henri III. was himſelf murdered in the year following, and the caricatures againſt him became ſtill more brutal during the period in which the ligueurs tried to ſet up a king of their own in his place. In one caricature, which has more of an emblematical character than moſt of the others, he is pictured as "Henri le Monſtrueux;" and in others, entitled "Les Hermaphrodites," he is exhibited under forms which point at the infamous vices with which he was charged.

The tide of caricature, however, ſoon turned in the contrary direction, and the coarſe, unprincipled abuſe employed by the ligueurs found a favourable contraſt in the powerful wit and talent of the ſatiriſts and caricaturiſts who now took up pen and pencil in the cauſe of Henri IV. The former was, on the whole, the more formidable weapon, but the latter repreſented to ſome eyes more vividly in picture what had already been done in type. This was the caſe on both ſides; the caricature laſt mentioned was founded upon a very libellous ſatirical pamphlet againſt Henri III., entitled "L'Iſle des Hermaphrodites." It is the caſe alſo with the firſt caricatures againſt the ligueurs, which I have to mention. The Eſtates held in Paris by the duke of Mayenne and the ligueurs for the purpoſe of electing a new king in oppoſition to Henri of Navarre, were made the ſubject of the celebrated "Satyre Ménippée," in which the proceedings of theſe Eſtates were turned to ridicule in the moſt admirable manner. Four large editions were ſold in leſs than as many months. Several caricatures aroſe out of or accompanied this remarkable book. One of theſe is a rather large print, entitled "La Singerie des Eſtats de la Ligue, l'an 1593," in which the members of the Eſtates and the ligueurs are pictured with the heads of monkeys. The central part repreſents the meeting

meeting of the Eſtates, at which the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the duke of Mayenne, ſeated on the throne, preſides. Above him is ſuſpended a large portrait of the infanta of Spain, *L'Eſpouſée de la Ligue*, as ſhe is called in the ſatire, ready to marry any one whom the Eſtates ſhall declare king of France. In chairs, on each ſide of Mayenne, are the two "ladies of honour" of the ſaid future ſpouſe. To the left are ſeated

No. 173. *The Aſſembly of Apes.*

in a row the celebrated council of ſixteen (*les ſeize*), reduced at this time to twelve, becauſe the duke of Mayenne, to check their turbulence, had cauſed four of them to be hanged. They wear the favours of the future ſpouſe. Oppoſite to them are the repreſentatives of the three orders, all, we are told, devoted to the ſervice of "the ſaid lady." Before the throne

are the two muſicians of the Ligue, one deſcribed as Phelipottin, the blind performer on the viel, or hurdy-gurdy, to the Ligue, and his ſubordinate, the player on the triangle, "kept at the expenſe of the future ſpouſe." Theſe were to entertain the aſſembly during the pauſes between the orations of the various ſpeakers. All this is a ſatire on the efforts of the king of Spain to eſtabliſh a monarch of his own choice. On the bench behind the muſicians ſit the deputies from Lyons, Poitiers, Orleans, and Rheims, cities where the influence of the Ligue was ſtrong, diſcuſſing the queſtion as to who ſhould be king. Thus much of this picture is repreſented in our cut No. 173. There are other groups of figures in the repreſentation of the aſſembly of the Eſtates; and there are two ſide compartments—that on the left repreſenting a forge, on which the fragments of a broken king are laid to be refounded, and a multitude of apes, with hammers and an anvil, ready to work him into a new king; the other ſide of the picture repreſents the circumſtances of a then well-known act of tyranny perpetrated by the Eſtates of the Ligue. Another large and well-executed engraving, publiſhed at Paris in 1594, immediately after Henri IV. had obtained poſſeſſion of his capital, alſo repreſents the grand proceſſion of the Ligue as deſcribed at the commencement of the "Satyre Ménippée," and was intended to hold up to ridicule the warlike temper of the French Catholic clergy. It is entitled, "La Proceſſion de la Ligue."

Henri's triumph over the Ligue was made the ſubject of a ſeries of three caricatures, or perhaps, more correctly, of a caricature in three diviſions. The firſt is entitled the "Naiſſance de la Ligue," and repreſents it under the form of a monſter with three heads, ſeverally thoſe of a wolf, a fox, and a ſerpent, iſſuing from hell-mouth. Under it are the following lines:—

L'enfer, pour aſſervir ſoubs ſes loix tout le monde,
Vomit ce monſtre hideux, fait d'un loup raviſſeur,
D'un renard enveilly, et d'un ſerpent immonde,
Affublé d'un manteau propre à toute couleur.

The ſecond diviſion, the "Declin de la Ligue," repreſenting its downfall, is

is copied in our cut No. 174. Henri of Navarre, in the form of a lion, has pounced fiercely upon it, and not too ſoon, for it had already ſeized the crown and ſceptre. In the diſtance, the ſun of national proſperity is ſeen riſing over the country. The third picture, the "Effets de la Ligue," repreſents the deſtruction of the kingdom and the ſlaughter of the people, of which the Ligue had been the cauſe.

The caricatures in France became more numerous during the ſeventeenth century, but they are either ſo elaborate or ſo obſcure, that each

No. 174. *The Deſtruction of the Ligue.*

requires almoſt a diſſertation to explain it, and they often relate to queſtions or events which have little intereſt for us at the preſent day. Several rather ſpirited ones appeared at the time of the diſgrace of the mareſchal d'Ancre and his wife; and the inglorious war with the Netherlands, in 1635, furniſhed the occaſion for others, for the French, as uſual, could make merry in their reverſes as well as in their ſucceſſes. The imperialiſt general Galas inflicted ſerious defeat on the French armies, and compelled them to a very diſaſtrous retreat from the countries they had invaded, and they tried to amuſe themſelves at the expenſe of their conqueror. Galas was rather remarkable for obeſity, and the French caricaturiſts

caricaturiſts of the day made this circumſtance a ſubject for their ſatire. Our cut No. 175 is copied from a print in which the magnitude of the ſtomach of General Galas is certainly ſomewhat exaggerated. He is

No. 175. *General Galas.*

repreſented, not apparently with any good reaſon, as puffed up with his own importance, which is evaporating in ſmoke; and along with the ſmoke thus iſſuing from his mouth, he is made to proclaim his greatneſs in the following rather doggrel verſes:—

Je ſuis ce grand Galas, autrefois dans l'armée
La gloire de l'Eſpagne et de mes compagnons;
Maintenant je ne ſuis qu'un corps plein de fumée,
Pour avoir trop mangé de raves et d'oignons.
Gargantua jamais n'eut une telle panſe, &c.

Caricatures in France began to be tolerably abundant during the middle of the ſeventeenth century, but under the cruſhing tyranny of Louis XIV., the freedom of the preſs, in all its forms, ceaſed to exiſt, and caricatures relating to France, unleſs they came from the court party, had to be publiſhed in other countries, eſpecially in Holland. It will be ſufficient to give two examples from the reign of Louis XIV. In the year 1661, a diſpute aroſe in London between the ambaſſador of France, M. D'Eſtrades, and the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the baron de Batteville, on

No. 176. *Batteville Humiliated.*

the queſtion of precedence, which was carried ſo far as to give riſe to a tumult in the ſtreets of the Engliſh capital. At this very moment, a new Spaniſh ambaſſador, the marquis de Fuentes, was on his way to Paris, but Louis, indignant at Batteville's behaviour in London, ſent orders to ſtop Fuentes on the frontier, and forbid his further advance into his kingdom. The king of Spain diſavowed the act of his ambaſſador in England, who was recalled, and Fuentes received orders to make an apology

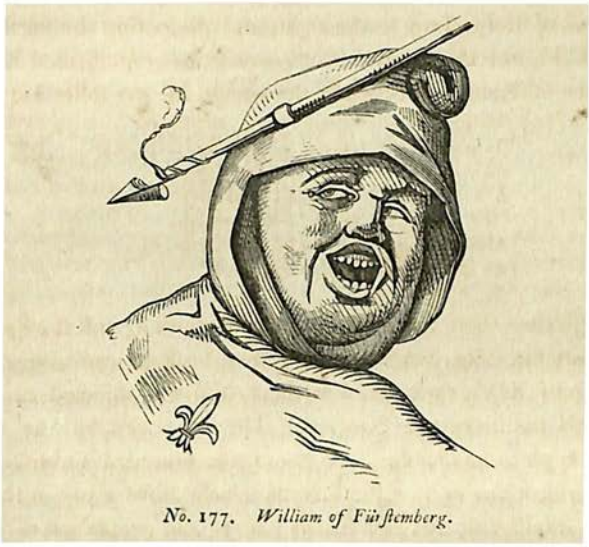
apology to king Louis. This event was made the ſubject of a rather boaſting caricature, the greater portion of which is given in our cut No. 176. It is entitled "Batteville vient adorer le Soliel" (Batteville comes to worſhip the ſun). In the original the ſun is ſeen ſhining in the upper corner of the picture to the right, and preſenting the juvenile face of Louis XIV., but the caricaturiſt appears to have ſubſtituted Batteville in the place of Fuentes. Beneath the whole are the following boaſtful lines:—

On ne va plus à Rome, on vient de Rome en France,
Mériter le pardon de quelque grande offence.
L'Italie tout entière eſt ſoumiſe à ces loix;
Un Eſpagnol ſ'oppoſe à ce droit de nos rois.
Mais un Français puiſſant joua des baſtonnades,
Et punit l'inſolent de ſes rodomontades.

From this time there ſprung up many caricatures againſt the Spaniards; but the moſt ferocious caricature, or rather book of caricatures, of the reign of Louis XIV., came from without, and was directed againſt the king and his miniſters and courtiers. The revocation of the edict of Nantes took place in October, 1685, and was preceded and followed by frightful perſecutions of the Proteſtants, which drove away in thouſands the earneſt, intelligent, and induſtrious part of the population of France. They carried with them a deep hatred to their oppreſſors, and ſought refuge eſpecially in the countries moſt hoſtile to Louis XIV.—England and Holland. The latter country, where they then enjoyed the greateſt freedom of action, ſoon ſent forth numerous ſatirical books and prints againſt the French king and his miniſters, of which the book juſt alluded to was one of the moſt remarkable. It is entitled "Les Heros de la Ligue, ou la Proceſſion Monacale conduite par Louis XIV. pour la Converſion des Proteſtans de ſon Royaume," and conſiſts of a series of twenty-four moſt groteſque faces, intended to repreſent the miniſters and courtiers of the "grand roi" moſt odious to the Calviniſts. It muſt have provoked their wrath exceedingly. I give one example, and as it is difficult to ſelect, I take the firſt in the liſt, which repreſents William of Fürſtemberg, one of the German princes devoted to Louis XIV., who, by his intrigues, had forced him into the archbiſhopric of Cologne, by which he became

an

an elector of the empire. For many reasons William of Fürstemberg was hated by the French Protestants, but it is not quite clear why he is here represented in the character of one of the low merchants of the Halles.



No. 177. *William of Fürstemberg.*

Over the picture, in the original, we read, *Guillaume de Furſtemberg, crie, ite, miſſa eſt,* and beneath are the four lines :—

J'ay quitté mon pais pour ſervir à la France,
Soit par ma trahiſon, ſoit par ma lacheté ;
J'ay troublé les états par ma méchanceté,
Une abbaye eſt ma recompenſe.

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY POLITICAL CARICATURE IN ENGLAND.—THE SATIRICAL WRITINGS AND PICTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD.—SATIRES AGAINST THE BISHOPS; BISHOP WILLIAMS.—CARICATURES ON THE CAVALIERS; SIR JOHN SUCKLING.—THE ROARING BOYS; VIOLENCE OF THE ROYALIST SOLDIERS.—CONTEST BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—GRINDING THE KING'S NOSE.—PLAYING-CARDS USED AS THE MEDIUM FOR CARICATURE; HASELRIGGE AND LAMBERT.—SHROVETIDE.

DURING the ſixteenth century caricature can hardly be ſaid to have exiſted in England, and it did not come much into faſhion, until the approach of the great ſtruggle which convulſed our country in the century following. The popular reformers have always been the firſt to appreciate the value of pictorial ſatire as an offenſive weapon. Such was the caſe with the German reformers in the age of Luther; as it was again with the Engliſh reformers in the days of Charles I., a period which we may juſtly conſider as that of the birth of Engliſh political caricature. From 1640 to 1661 the preſs launched forth an abſolute deluge of political pamphlets, many of which were of a ſatirical character, ſcurrilous in form and language, and, on whatever ſide they were written, very unſcrupulous in regard to the truth of their ſtatements. Among them appeared a not unfrequent engraving, ſeldom well executed, whether on copper or wood, but diſplaying a coarſe and pungent wit that muſt have told with great effect on thoſe for whom it was intended. The firſt objects of attack in theſe caricatures were the Epiſcopalian party in the church and the profaneneſs and inſolence of the cavaliers. The Puritans or Preſbyterians who took the lead in, and at firſt directed, the great political movement, looked upon Epiſcopalianiſm as differing in little from popery, and, at all events, as leading direct to it. Arminianiſm was with them only another name

name for the ſame thing, and was equally deteſted. In a caricature publiſhed in 1641, Arminius is repreſented ſupported on one ſide by Hereſy, wearing the triple crown, while on the other ſide Truth is turning away from him, and carrying with her the Bible. It was the indiſcreet zeal of archbiſhop Laud which led to the triumph of the Puritan party, and the downfall of the epiſcopal church government, and Laud became the butt for attacks of all deſcriptions, in pamphlets, ſongs, and ſatirical prints, the latter uſually figuring in the titles of the pamphlets. Laud was eſpecially obnoxious to the Puritans for the bitterneſs with which he had perſecuted them.

In 1640 Laud was committed to the Tower, an event which was hailed as the firſt grand ſtep towards the overthrow of the biſhops. As an example of the feeling of exultation diſplayed on this occaſion by his enemies, we may quote a few lines from a ſatirical ſong, publiſhed in 1641, and entitled "The Organs Eccho. To the Tune of the Cathedrall Service." It is a general attack on the prelacy, and opens with a cry of triumph over the fall of William Laud, of whom the ſong ſays—

As he was in his braverie,
And thought to bring us all in ſlaverie,
The parliament found out his knaverie;
And ſo fell William.
Alas! poore William!

His pope-like domineering,
And ſome other tricks appearing,
Provok'd Sir Edward Deering
To blame the old prelate
Alas! poore prelate!

Some ſay he was in hope
To bring England againe to th' pope;
But now he is in danger of an axe or a rope.
Farewell, old Canterbury.
Alas! poore Canterbury!

Wren, biſhop of Ely, was another of the more obnoxious of the prelates, and there was hardly leſs joy among the popular party when he was committed to the Tower in the courſe of the year 1641. Another

ſong, in verſe ſimilar to the laſt, contains a general review of the demerits of the members of the prelacy, under the title of "The Biſhops Laſt Good-night." At the head of the broadſide on which it is printed ſtand two ſatirical woodcuts, but it muſt be confeſſed that the words of the ſong are better than the engraving. The biſhop of Ely, we are told, had juſt gone to join his friend Laud in the Tower—

Ely, thou haſt alway to thy power
Left the church naked in a ſtorme and ſhowre,
And now for 't thou muſt to thy old friend i' th' Tower.
To the Tower muſt Ely;
Come away, Ely.

A third obnoxious prelate was biſhop Williams. Williams was a Welſhman who had been high in favour with James I., but he had given offence to the government of Charles I., and been impriſoned in the Tower during the earlier part of that king's reign. He was releaſed by the parliament in 1640, and ſo far regained the favour of king Charles, that he was raiſed to the archbiſhopric of York in the year following. When the civil war began, he retired into Wales, and garriſoned Conway for the king. Williams's warlike behaviour was the ſource of much mirth among the Roundheads. In 1642 was publiſhed a large caricature on the three claſſes to whom the parliamentarians were eſpecially hoſtile—the royaliſt judges, the prelates, and the ruffling cavaliers; repreſented here, as we are told in writing in the copy among the king's pamphlets, by judge Mallet, biſhop Williams, and colonel Lunsford. Theſe three figures are placed in as many compartments with doggrel verſes under each. That of biſhop Williams is copied in our cut No. 178. The biſhop is armed cap-à-pie, and in the diſtance behind him are ſeen on one ſide his cathedral church, and on the other his war-horſe. The verſes beneath it contain an alluſion to this prelate's Welſh extraction in the orthography of ſome of the words:—

Oh, ſir, I'me ready, did you never heere
How forward I have byn t'is many a yeare,
T'oppoſe the practice dat is now on foote,
Which plucks my brethren up both prauch and roote?
My poſture and my hart toth well agree
To fight; now plud is up: come, follow mee.

The

The country had now begun to experience the miſeries of war, and to ſmart under them; and the cavaliers were eſpecially reproached for the cruelty with which they plundered and ill-treated people whenever they gained the maſtery. Colonel Lunsford was eſpecially notorious for the

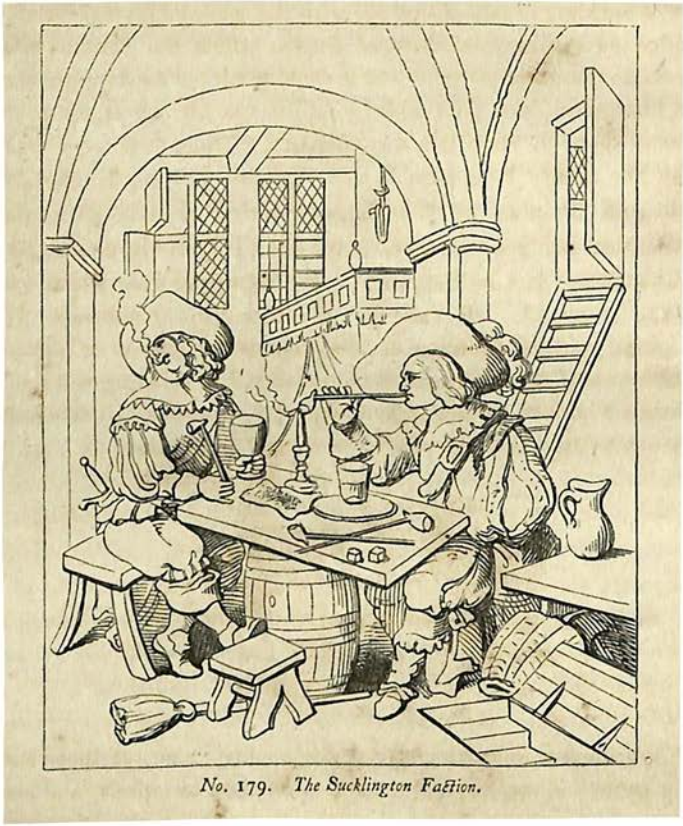
No. 178. *The Church Militant.*

barbarities committed by himſelf and his men—to ſuch a degree that he was popularly accuſed of eating children, a charge which is frequently alluded to in the popular ſongs of the time. Thus one of theſe ſongs couples him with two other obnoxious royaliſts:—

From Fielding, and from Vavaſour,
Both ill-affected men,
From Lunsford eke deliver us,
Who eateth up children.

In

In the third compartment of the caricature juſt mentioned, we ſee in the background of the picture, behind colonel Lunsford, his ſoldiers occupied in burning towns, and maſſacring women and children. The model of the gay cavalier of the earlier period of this great revolution, before



No. 179. *The Sucklington Faction.*

the war had broken out in its intenſity, was the courtly Sir John Suckling, the poet of the drawing-room and tavern, the admired of "roaring boys," and the hated of rigid Puritans. Sir John outdid his companions in extravagance in everything which was faſhionable, and the diſplay of his zeal in the cauſe of royalty was not calculated to conciliate the reformers.

When

When the king led an army againſt the Scottiſh Covenanters in 1639, Suckling raiſed a troop of a hundred horſe at his own expenſe; but they gained more reputation by their extraordinary dreſs than by their courage, and the whole affair was made a ſubject of ridicule. From this time the name of Suckling became identified with that gay and profligate claſs who, diſguſted by the outward ſhow of ſanctity which the Puritans affected, ruſhed into the other extreme, and became notorious for their profaneneſs, their libertiniſm, and their indulgence in vice, which threw a certain degree of diſcredit upon the royaliſt party. There is a large broadſide among the King's Pamphlets in the Britiſh Muſeum, entitled, "The Sucklington Faction; or (Sucklings) Roaring Boys." It is one of thoſe ſatirical compoſitions which were then faſhionable under the title of "Characters," and is illuſtrated by an engraving, from which our cut No. 179 is copied. This engraving, which from its ſuperior ſtyle is perhaps the work of a foreign artiſt, repreſents the interior of a chamber, in which two of the Roaring Boys are engaged in drinking and ſmoking, and forms a curious picture of contemporary manners. Underneath the engraving we read the following lines:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce,
And makes a man a ſwine;
But hee 's a temperate man indeed
That with a leafe can dine.

Hee needes no napkin for his handes,
His fingers for to wipe;
He hath his kitchin in a box,
His roaſt meate in a pipe.

When the war ſpread itſelf over the country, many of theſe Roaring Boys became ſoldiers, and diſgraced the profeſſion by rapacity and cruelty. The pamphlets of the parliamentarians abound with complaints of the outrages perpetrated by the Cavaliers, and the evil appears to have been increaſed by the ill-conduct of the auxiliaries brought over from Ireland to ſerve the king, who were eſpecially objects of hatred to the Puritans. A broadſide among the king's pamphlets is adorned by a ſatirical picture of "The Engliſh Iriſh Souldier, with his new diſcipline, new armes, old ſtomacke,

ſtomacke, and new taken pillage; who had rather eat than fight." It was publiſhed in 1642. The Engliſh Iriſh ſoldier is, as may be ſuppoſed, heavily laden with plunder. In 1646 appeared another caricature, which is copied in our cut No. 180. It repreſents "England's Wolfe with

No. 180. "*England's Wolf.*"

Eagles clawes: the cruell impieties of bloud-thirſty royaliſts and blaſphemous anti-parliamentarians, under the command of that innumane prince Rupert, Digby, and the reſt, wherein the barbarous crueltie of our civill uncivill warres is briefly diſcovered." England's wolf, as will be ſeen, is dreſſed in the high faſhion of the gay courtiers of the time.

A few large caricatures, embodying ſatire of a more comprehenſive deſcription, appeared from time to time, during this troubled age. Such is a large emblematical picture, publiſhed on the 9th of November, 1642, and

and entitled "Heraclitus' Dream," for the ſcene is ſuppoſed to be manifeſted to the philoſopher in a viſion. In the middle of the picture the ſheep are ſeen ſhearing their ſhepherd; while one cuts his hair, another treats his beard in the ſame manner. Under the picture we read the couplet—

The flocke that was wont to be ſhorne by the herd,
Now polleth the ſhepherd in ſpight of his beard.

On the 19th of January, 1647, a caricature appeared under the title "An Embleme of the Times." On one ſide War, repreſented as a giant in armour, is ſeen ſtanding upon a heap of dead and mutilated bodies, while Hypocriſy, in the form of a woman with two faces, is flying towards a diſtant city. "Libertines," "anti-ſabbatarians," and others, are haſten-

No. 181. *Folly Uppermoſt.*

ing in the ſame direction; and the angel of peſtilence, hovering over the city, is ready to pounce upon it.

The party of the parliament was now triumphant, and the queſtion of religion again became the ſubject of diſpute. The Preſbyterians had been eſtabliſhing a ſort of tyranny over men's minds, and ſought to proſcribe all other ſects, till their intolerance gradually raiſed up a ſtrong and general

general feeling of reſiſtance. Since 1643 a briſk war of political pamphlets had been carried on between the Preſbyterians and their opponents, when, in 1647, the Independents, whoſe cauſe had been eſpouſed by the army, gained the maſtery. "Sir John Preſbyter" or to uſe the more familiar phraſe, "Jack Preſbyter," furniſhed a ſubject for frequent ſatire, and the Preſbyterians were not ſlow in returning the blow. In the collection in the Britiſh Muſeum we find a caricature which muſt have come from the Preſbyterian party, entitled "Reall Perſecution, or the Foundation of a general Toleration, diſplaied and portrayed by a proper emblem, and adorned with the ſame flowers wherewith the ſcoffers of this laſt age have ſtrowed their libellous pamphlets." The group which occupies the middle part of this broadſide, is copied in our cut No. 181. It has its ſeparate title, "The Picture of an Engliſh Perſecutor, or a foole-ridden ante-Preſbeterian ſectary." (I give the ſpelling as in the original.) Folly is riding on the ſectarian, whom he holds with a bridle, the ſectarian having the ears of an aſs. The following homely rhymes are placed in the mouth of Folly,—

Behould my habit, like my witt,
Equalls his on whom I ſitt.

Anti-Preſbyterian is, as will be ſeen, dreſſed in the height of the faſhion, and ſays—

My curſed ſpeeches againſt Preſbetry
Declares unto the world my foolery.

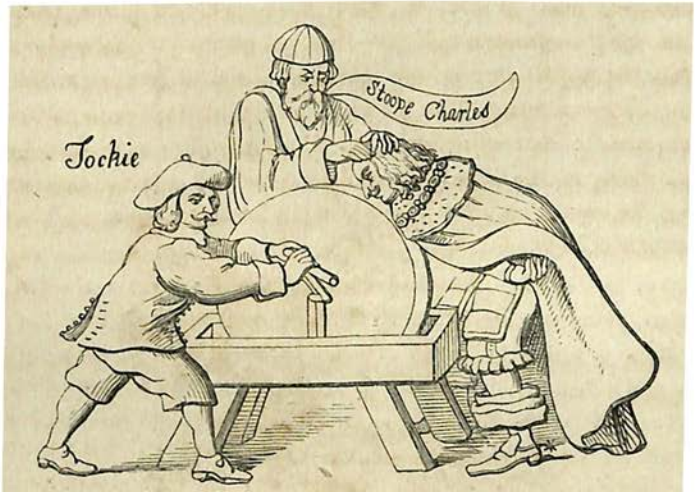
The mortification of the Preſbyterians led in Scotland to the proclamation of Charles II. as king, and to the ill-fated expedition which ended in the battle of Worceſter in 1651, when ſatirical pamphlets, ballads, and caricatures againſt the Scottiſh Preſbyterians became for a while very popular. One of the beſt of the latter is repreſented in our cut No. 182. Its object is to ridicule the conditions which the Preſbyterians exacted from the young prince before they offered him the crown. It is printed in the middle of the broadſide, in proſe, publiſhed on the 14th of July, 1651, with the general title, "Old Sayings and Predictions verified and fulfilled, touching the young King of Scotland and his gude ſubjects."

The

The picture has its ſeparate title, "The Scots holding their young kinges noſe to the grinſtone," followed by the lines—

Come to the grinſtone, Charles, 'tis now to late
To recolect, 'tis preſbiterian fate,
You covinant pretenders, muſt I bee
The ſubject of youer tradgie-comedie?

In fact, the picture repreſents Preſbyterianiſm—Jack Preſbyter—holding the young king's noſe to the grindſtone, which is turned by the Scots,



No. 182. Conditions of Royalty.

perſonified as Jockey. The following lines are put into the mouths of the three actors in this ſcene:—

Jockey.—I, Jockey, turne the stone of all your plots,
For none turnes faster than the turne-coat Scots.
Preſbyter.—We for our ends did make thee king, be sure,
Not to rule us, we will not that endure.
King.—You deep dissemblers, I kow what you doe,
And, for revenges sake, I will dissemble too.

Charles's defeat and flight from Worceſter furniſhed materials for a

much more elaborate caricature than moſt of the ſimilar productions of this period, and of a ſomewhat ſingular deſign. It was publiſhed on the 6th of November, 1651, and bears the title "A Mad Deſigne; or a Deſcription of the king of Scots marching in his diſguiſe, after the Rout at Worceſter." A long, and not unneceſſary, explanation of the ſeveral groups forming this picture, enables us to underſtand it. On the left Charles is ſeated on the globe "in a melancholy poſture." A little to the right, and nearly in front, the biſhop of Clogher is performing maſs, at which lords Ormond and Inchquin, in the ſhapes of ſtrange animals, hold torches, and the lord Taaf, in the form of a monkey, holds up the biſhop's train. The Scottiſh army is ſeen marching up, conſiſting, according to the deſcription, of papiſts, prelatical malignants, Preſbyterians, and old cavaliers; the latter of whom are repreſented by the "fooles head upon a pole in the rear." The next group conſiſts of two monkeys, one with a fiddle, the other carrying a long ſtaff with a torch at the end, concerning which we learn that "The two ridiculous anticks, one with a fiddle, and the other with a torch, ſet forth the ridiculouſneſs of their condition when they marched into England, carried up with high thoughts, yet altogether in the darke, having onely a fooles bawble to be their light to walke by, mirth of their own whimſies to keep up their ſpirits, and a ſheathed ſword to truſte in." Next come a troop of women, children, and papiſts, lamenting over their defeat. Two monkeys on foot, and one on horſeback, follow, the latter riding with his face turned to the horſe's tail, and carrying in his hand a ſpit with proviſions on it. It is explained as "The Scots Kings flight from Worceſter, repreſented by the foole on horſeback, riding backward, turning his face every way in feares, uſhered by duke Hambleton and the lord Wilmot." Laſtly, a crowd of women with flags bring up the rear. It cannot be ſaid that the wit diſplayed in this ſatire is of the very higheſt order.

After this period we meet with comparatively few caricatures until the death of Cromwell, and the eve of the Reſtoration, when there came a new and fierce ſtruggle of political parties. The Dutch were the ſubject of ſome ſatirical prints and pamphlets in 1652; and we find a ſmall number of caricatures on the ſocial evils, ſuch as drunkenneſs and gluttony, and on one

one or two ſubjects of minor agitation. With the cloſe of the Commonwealth a new form of caricature came in. Playing cards had, during this ſeventeenth century, been employed for various purpoſes which were quite alien to their original character. In France they were made the means of conveying inſtruction to children. In England, at the time of which we are ſpeaking, they were adopted as the medium for ſpreading political

No. 183. *Arthur Haſelrigg.*

caricature. The earlieſt of theſe packs of cards known is one which appears to have been publiſhed at the very moment of the reſtoration of Charles II., and which was, perhaps, engraved in Holland. It contains a ſeries of caricatures on the principal acts of the Commonwealth, and on the parliamentary leaders. Among other cards of a ſimilar character which have been preſerved is a pack relating to the popiſh plot, another relating

relating to the Rye Houſe conſpiracy, one on the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, publiſhed in Holland, and one on the South Sea bubble.

The earlieſt of theſe packs of ſatirical cards, that on the Commonwealth, belonged a few years ago to a lady of the name of Preſt, and is very fully deſcribed in a paper by Mr. Pettigrew, printed in the "Journal of the Britiſh Archæological Aſſociation." Each of the fifty-two cards

No. 184. *General Lambert.*

preſents a picture with a ſatirical title. Thus the ace of diamonds repreſents "The High Court of Juſtice, or Oliver's Slaughter Houſe." The eight of diamonds is repreſented in our cut No. 183; its ſubject is "Don Haſelrigg, Knight of the Codled Braine." It is hardly neceſſary to ſay that Sir Arthur Haſelrigg acted a very prominent and remarkable part during the whole of the Commonwealth period, and that his manners were

were impetuous and authoritative, which was probably the meaning of the epithet here given to him. The card of the king of diamonds repreſents rather unequivocally the ſubject indicated by its title, "Sir H. Mildmay ſolicits a citizen's wife, for which his owne corrects him." It is an alluſion to one of the petty ſcandals of the republican period. The eight of hearts is a ſatire on major-general Lambert. This able and diſtinguiſhed man was remarkably fond of flowers, took great pleaſure in cultivating them, and was ſkilful in drawing them, which was one of his favourite amuſements. He withdrew to Amſterdam during the Protec-

No. 185. *Shrovetide.*

torate, and there gave full indulgence to this love of flowers, and I need hardly ſay that it was the age of the great tulip mania in Holland. When, after the Reſtoration, he was involved in the fate of the regicides, but had his ſentence commuted for thirty years of impriſonment, he alleviated the dulneſs of his long confinement in the iſle of Guernſey by the ſame amuſement. In the card we have engraved, Lambert is repreſented in his garden, holding a large tulip in his hand; and it is no doubt in alluſion to this innocent taſte that he is here entitled "Lambert, Knight of the Golden Tulip."

The

The Reſtoration furniſhed better ſongs than prints, and many years paſſed before any caricatures worthy of notice appeared in England. Even burleſque ſubjects of any merit occur but rarely, and I hardly know of one which is worth deſcribing here. Among the beſt of thoſe I have met with, is a pair of plates, publiſhed in 1660, repreſenting Lent and Shrovetide, and theſe, I believe, are copied or imitated from foreign prints. Lent is come as a thin miſerable-looking knight-errant, appropriately armed and mounted, ready to give battle to Shrovetide, whoſe good living is pernicious to the whole community, and he abuſes his opponent in good round terms. In the companion print, of which our cut No. 185 is a copy, Shrovetide appears as a jolly champion, quite ready to meet his enemy. He is beſt deſcribed in the following lines, extracted from the verſes which accompany the prints:—

Fatt Shrovetyde, mounted on a good fatt oxe,
*Suppoſd that Lent was mad, or caught a foxe,**
Armed cap-a-pea from head unto the heel,
A ſpit his long ſword, ſomewhat worſe than ſteale,
(Sheath'd in a fatt pigge and a peece of porke),
His bottles ſild with wine, well ſtopt with corke;
The two plump capons fluttering at his crupper;
And 's ſhoulders lac'd with ſawſages for ſupper;
The gridir'n (like a well ſtrung inſtrument)
Hung at his backe, and for the turnament
His helmet is a braſſe pott, and his flagge
A cookes ſoule apron, which the wind doth wagg,
Fixd to a broome: thus bravely he did ride,
And boldly to his foe he thus replied.

* *i.e.*, was drunk.

CHAPTER XXII.

ENGLISH COMEDY.—BEN JONSON.—THE OTHER WRITERS OF HIS SCHOOL.—INTERRUPTION OF DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES.—COMEDY AFTER THE RESTORATION.—THE HOWARDS BROTHERS; THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM; THE REHEARSAL.—WRITERS OF COMEDY IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—INDECENCY OF THE STAGE.—COLLEY CIBBER.—FOOTE.

IN England, as in Athens of old, perfect comedy arose gradually out of the personalities of the rude dramatic attempts of an earlier period. Such productions as Ralph Roister Doister and Gammer Gurton's Needle were mere imperfect attempts at, we may perhaps rather say feelers towards, comedy itself—that drama, the object of which was to caricature, and thus to dissect and apply correctives to, the vices and weaknesses of contemporary society. The genius of Shakespeare was far too exquisitely poetical to qualify him for a task like this; it wanted some one who could use the lancet and scalpel skilfully, but soberly, and who was not liable to be led astray by too much vigour of imagination.

Such a one was Ben Jonson, whom we may rightly consider as the father of English comedy. "Bartholomew Fair," first performed at the Hope Theatre, on Bankside, London, on the 31st of October, 1614, is the most perfect and most remarkable example of the truly English comedy, remarkable, among many other things, for the extraordinary number of characters who were brought upon the stage in one piece, and who are all at the same time grouped and individualised with a skill that reminds us of the pictorial triumphs of a Callot or a Hogarth. London life is placed before us in all its more popular forms in one grand tableau, the one in which it would show itself in its more grotesque attitudes; the London citizen, his vain or easy wife, sharpers of every description, and their victims no less varied in character, the petty city officers, all come in

in for their ſhare of ſatire. The different groups are diſtributed ſo naturally, that it is difficult to ſay who is the principal character of the piece —and who ever was the principal character in Bartholomew Fair? Perhaps the character of Cokes, the young booby ſquire from Harrow—for in thoſe times even ſo near London as Harrow, a young ſquire was conſidered to be in all probability but a young country booby—ſtrikes us moſt. It is ſaid to have been at a later period the favourite character of Charles II. Among the other principal characters of the play are a proctor of the Arches Court named Littlewit, who imagines himſelf to be a *bel eſprit* of the firſt order; his wife, and her mother, dame Purecraft, who is a widow; Juſtice Overdo, a London magiſtrate, to whoſe ward, Grace Wellborn, Cokes is affianced in marriage; a zealous Puritan, named Zeal-of-the-land Buſy, who is a ſuitor to the widow Purecraft, herſelf alſo a Puritan; Winwife, Buſy's rival; and a gameſter named Tom Quarlous, who figures as Winwife's friend and companion. All theſe meet in town, on the morning of the fair, Cokes under the care of a ſort of ſteward or upper ſervant, named Waſpe, who was of a quarrelſome diſpoſition, and ſeparate in groups among the crowd which filled Smithfield and its vicinity, each having their ſeparate adventures, but meeting from time to time, and reaſſembling at the end. Cokes behaves as a ſimpleton from the country, longs for everything, and wonders at everything, buys up toys and gingerbread, is ſeparated from all his companions, robbed of his money and even of his outer garments, and in this condition finally ſettles down at a puppet-ſhow. Meanwhile the Puritan Buſy, by his zeal againſt the "heathen abominations" of the fair on one hand, and Waſpe, by his quarrelſome temper on the other, fall into a ſeries of ſcrapes, which end in both being carried to the ſtocks. They are there joined by another important perſonage. Juſtice Overdo, who is diſtinguiſhed by an extraordinary zeal for the right adminiſtration of juſtice and the ſuppreſſion of ſocial vices of all kinds, has come into the fair in diſguiſe, in order to make himſelf acquainted with its various abuſes, and he paſſes among them unknown; and his inquiſitive intermeddling brings him into a variety of miſhaps, in the courſe of which he alſo is ſeized by the conſtable, and allows himſelf to be taken to the ſtocks, rather than betray

betray his identity. Thus all three, Buſy, Waſpe, and Overdo, are placed in the ſtocks at the ſame time; but Waſpe, by a clever trick, eſcapes, and leaves the Puritan and the juſtice confined together, the one looking upon himſelf as a martyr for religion's ſake, the other rather glorying in ſuffering through his diſintereſted zeal for the common good. They, too, after a while make their eſcape through an accidental overſight of their keepers, and mix again with the mob. The women, likewiſe, have been ſeparated from their male companions, have fallen among ſharpers and bullies, been made drunk, and eſcaped but narrowly from ſtill worſe diſaſters. They all finally meet before the puppet-ſhow, which has fixed the attention of Cokes, and there juſtice Overdo diſcovers himſelf. Such are the materials of Ben Jonſon's "Bartholomew Fair," the buſieſt and moſt amuſing of plays. It is ſaid, when firſt acted, to have given great ſatiſfaction to king James, by the ridicule thrown upon the Puritans, and it continued to be a favourite comedy when revived after the Reſtoration.

"The Alchemiſt," by the ſame author, preceded "Bartholomew Fair," by four years, and was deſigned as a ſatire upon a claſs of impoſtors who, in that age, were among the greateſt peſts of ſociety, and were inſtruments, one way or other, in the greateſt crimes of the day. "The Alchemiſt" belongs, alſo, to the pure Engliſh comedy, but its plot is more ſimple and diſtinct than that of "Bartholomew Fair." It involves events which may have occurred frequently, at periods when the metropolis was from time to time expoſed to the viciſſitudes of the plague. On one of theſe occaſions, Lovewit, a London gentleman, obliged to quit the metropolis in order to avoid the plague, leaves his town houſe to the charge of one man-ſervant, Face, who proves diſhoneſt, aſſociates himſelf with a rogue named Subtle, and an immoral woman named Dol Common, and introduces them into the houſe, which is made the baſis for their ſubſequent operations. Subtle aſſumes the character of a magician and alchemiſt, while Dol acts various female parts, and Face goes about alluring people into their ſnares. Among their dupes are a knight who lives upon the town, two Engliſh Puritans from Amſterdam, a lawyer's clerk, a tobacco man, a young country ſquire, and his ſiſter dame Pliant, a widow. The various intrigues in which theſe individuals are involved, ſhow us the way in

which the pretended conjurers and alchemiſts contributed to all the vices of the town. At length their baſe dealings are on the point of being expoſed by the cunning of one upon whom they had attempted to impoſe, when Truewit, the maſter of the houſe, returns unexpectedly, and all is diſcovered, but the alchemiſt and his female aſſociate contrive to eſcape. The object of their laſt intrigue had been to entrap dame Pliant, who was rich, into a marriage with a needy ſharper; and Lovewit, finding the lady in the houſe, and liking her, marries her himſelf, and, in conſideration of the ſatisfaction he has thus procured, forgives his unfaithful ſervant. Many have conſidered the Alchemiſt to be the beſt of Jonſon's dramas. "Epicœne, or the Silent Woman," which belongs to the year 1609, is another ſatirical picture of London ſociety, in which the ſame claſs of characters appear. Moroſe, an eccentric gentleman of fortune, who has a great horror for noiſe, and even obliges his ſervants to communicate with him by ſigns, has a nephew, a young knight named Sir Dauphine Eugenie, with whom he is diſſatisfied, and he refuſes to allow him money for his ſupport. A plot is laid by his friends, whereby the uncle is led into a marriage with a ſuppoſed ſilent woman, named Epicœne, but ſhe only ſuſtains the character until the wedding formalities are completed, and theſe are followed by a ſcene of noiſe and riot, which completely horrifies Moroſe, and leads to a reconciliation with his nephew, to whom he makes over half his fortune. The earlieſt of Ben Jonſon's comedies, "Every Man in his Humour," was compoſed in its preſent form in 1598, and is the firſt of theſe dramatic ſatires on the manners and character of the citizens of London, of whom it was faſhionable at the courts of James I. and Charles I. to ſpeak contemptuouſly. Kno'well, an old gentleman of reſpectability, is highly diſpleaſed with his ſon Edward, becauſe the latter has taken to writing poetry, and has formed a friendſhip with another gentleman of his own age, who loves poetry and frequents the rather gay ſociety of the poets and wits of the town. Wellbred has a half-brother, a "plain ſquire," named Downright, and a ſiſter married to a rich city merchant named Kitely. Kitely, the merchant, who is extremely jealous of his wife, has a great deſire to reform Wellbred, and draw him to a ſteadier line of life, a ſentiment in which Downright heartily

heartily joins. Kitely's jealouſy, and the ſteps taken to reform Wellbred, lead to the moſt comic parts of the play, which concludes with the marriage of young Kno'well to Kitely's daughter, Miſs Bridget, and his reconciliation with his father. Among the other characters in the piece are captain Bobadil, "a bluſtering coward," juſtice Clement, "an old merry magiſtrate," his clerk, Roger Formal, and a country gull and a town gull.

Theſe comedies of London life became popular, and continued ſo during this and the following reign—in fact, the maſs of thoſe who attended the theatres could underſtand and appreciate them better than any others, and, what was more, they felt them. Among Jonſon's contemporaries in the literature of this Engliſh comedy were Middleton and Thomas Heywood, both very prolific writers, Chapman, and Marſton. Certain claſſes of characters are continually repeated in this comedy, becauſe they belonged eſpecially to the London ſociety of the time, but the employment and diſtribution of theſe characters admitted of great variations, and they perhaps often had at the time a ſpecial intereſt, as repreſenting known individuals, or as being combined in a plot which was built upon real incidents in London life. Among theſe were uſually a country gentleman of fortune, who was very avaricious, and had a ſpendthrift ſon, or who had a daughter, a rich heireſs, who was the object of the intrigues of ſpendthrift ſuitors; young heirs, who have juſt come to their eſtates, and are ſpending them in London; young country ſquires who are eaſy victims; a needy knight, as poor in principles as in money, who lived upon the public in every way he could; deſigning and unſcrupulous women; bullies and ſharpers of every deſcription. In fact, we ſeem to be always in the ſmell of the tavern, and in the midſt of diſſipation. Then there are fat, ſleek, and wealthy citizens, whoſe ſouls are entirely wrapt up in their merchandiſe, who are proud, nevertheleſs, of their poſition; and eaſy, credulous city wives, who are fond of finery and of praiſe, eager for gaiety and diſplay, impatient of the rule of huſbands, or of the dulneſs of home, and very ready to liſten to the advances of the gay gallants from the court end of the town, or from the tavern. The city tradeſman has generally an apprentice or two, ſometimes very ſober,

but

but perhaps more frequently diſſipated, who play their parts in the piece; and often a daughter, who is either a model of modeſty and all the domeſtic virtues, and is finally the reward of ſome hero of good principles, who has been temporarily led aſtray, and his character miſinterpreted, or who is gay and intriguing, and comes to diſgrace. But the favourite idea of excellence, or, to uſe a technical phraſe, the *beau ideal* of this comedy, appears to have been a wild youth, who goes through every ſcene of diſſipation, in a gentlemanly manner (as the term was then underſtood), and comes out at the end of the play as an honeſt, virtuous man, and receives the reward for qualities which he had not previouſly diſplayed.

Sometimes the writers of this comedy indulged in perſonal, or even in political, alluſions which brought them into trouble. In the year 1605, Ben Jonſon, George Chapman, and John Marſton, wrote jointly a comedy entitled "Eaſtward Hoe." It is a very excellent and amuſing comedy, and was very popular. Touchſtone, an honeſt goldſmith in the city, has two apprentices, Golding, a ſober and induſtrious youth, and Quickſilver, who is an irreclaimable rake. Touchſtone has alſo two daughters, the eldeſt of whom, Gertrude, affects the fine lady, and is ambitious of finding a huſband in the faſhionable world, while her younger ſiſter, Mildred, is all virtue and humility. An attachment ariſes between Golding and Mildred. Another character in this drama is a needy, ſcheming knight, who lives upon the town, and rejoices in the name of Sir Petronel Flaſh. Sir Petronel is attracted by the rich dowry which the young lady, Gertrude, had to expect, pays his court to her, and eaſily works upon her vanity; and, her mother encouraging her, they are haſtily married, contrary to the wiſhes of her father. The knight is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a magnificent caſtle ſomewhere to the eaſt of London, and the young bride and her mother proceed in ſearch of this, from which the comedy derives its title of "Eaſtward Hoe," but they are involved in various diſagreeable adventures in the ſearch, which ends in the conviction that it is all a fable. Another character in the play is a greedy and unprincipled uſurer, who is ſo jealous of his young and pretty wife, that he keeps her under lock and key; and this man is deeply involved in money-lending with Sir Petronel Flaſh, and they are engaged in a ſeries of unprincipled tranſactions,

tranſactions, which lead to the diſgrace of them all, and in the courſe of which the virtue of the uſurer's wife falls a ſacrifice. Meanwhile the fortunes of the two apprentices have been advancing in directly oppoſite directions. Quickſilver, the unworthy apprentice, leaves his maſter, proceeds from bad to worſe, and finally is committed to priſon, for a crime the puniſhment of which was death. On the other hand, Golding has not only gained his maſter's eſteem and married his daughter Mildred, and been adopted as the heir to his wealth, but he has merited the reſpect of his fellow-citizens, and has been promoted in municipal rank. It becomes Golding's duty to preſide over the trial of his old fellow apprentice Quickſilver, but the latter eſcapes through Golding's generoſity.

There is ſome ſound morality in the ſpirit of this comedy, and a very large amount of immorality in the text. There was, indeed, a coarſe licence in the relations of ſociety at this period, which are but too faithfully repreſented in its literature. But there are two circumſtances, accidentally attached to this drama, which give it a peculiar intereſt. When brought out upon the ſtage it contained reflections upon Scotchmen which provoked the anger of king James I. to ſuch a degree, that all the authors were ſeized and thrown into priſon, and narrowly eſcaped the loſs of their ears and noſes, but they obtained their releaſe with ſome difficulty, and only through powerful interceſſion. In the copy which has been brought down to us through the preſs, we find no reflections whatever upon Scotchmen, ſo that it muſt have been altered from the original text. When we conſider that, at this time, the Engliſh court and capital were crowded with needy Scottiſh adventurers, who were looked upon with great jealouſy, it is not improbable that in the original form of the comedy, Sir Petronel Flaſh may have been a Scotchman, and intended not only as a ſatire upon the Scottiſh adventurers in general, but to have been deſigned for ſome one in particular who had the means of bringing upon the authors the extreme diſpleaſure of the court.

The other circumſtance which has given celebrity to this comedy, is one of ſtill greater intereſt. After the Reſtoration, it was new modelled by Nicholas Tate, and brought again upon the ſtage under the title of "Cuckold's Haven." Perhaps through this remodelled edition, Hogarth took

took from the comedy of "Eaſtward Hoe," the idea of his ſeries of plates of the hiſtory of the Idle and Induſtrious Apprentices.

When we conſider the ridicule which was continually thrown upon them in this earlier period of the Engliſh comedy, we can eaſily underſtand the bitterneſs with which the Puritans regarded the ſtage and the drama. When they obtained power, the ſtage, as might be expected, was ſuppreſſed, and for ſome years England was without a theatre. At the Reſtoration, however, the theatres were opened again, and with greater freedom than ever. At firſt the old comedies of the days of James I. and Charles I. were revived, and many of them, modified and adapted to the new circumſtances, were again brought upon the ſtage. The original comedies which appeared immediately after the Reſtoration, were often marked with a political tinge; as the ſtage ſaw its natural protectors in the court, and in the court party, it embraced their politics; and Puritans, Roundheads, Whigs, all whoſe principles were ſuppoſed to be contrary to royalty and arbitrary power, fell under its ſatire. Such was the character of the comedy of "The Cheats," by a play-writer of ſome repute named Wilſon, which was brought out in 1662. The object of this play appears to have been, in the firſt place, to ſatiriſe the Nonconformiſts or Puritanical clergy—with whom were claſſed the aſtrologers and conjurers, who had increaſed in number during the Commonwealth time, and infeſted ſociety more than ever—and the city magiſtrates, who were not looked upon as being generally over-loyal. The three cheats who are the heroes of this comedy, are Scruple, the Nonconformiſt, Mopus, a pretender to phyſic and aſtrology, and alderman Whitebroth. Direct perſonal attacks had been introduced into the comedy of the Reſtoration, and it is probable that ſomebody of influence was ſatiriſed under the name of Scruple, for the play was ſuppreſſed by authority, and at a later period, when it was revived, the prologue announces this fact in the following words;—

Sad news, my maſters; and too true, I fear,
For us—Scruple's a ſilenc'd miniſter.
Would ye the cauſe? The brethren ſnivel, and ſay,
'Tis ſcandalous that any cheat but they.

Many of the dramatiſts of the Reſtoration were men of good and ariſtocratic

ariſtocratic families, witty and profligate cavaliers, who had returned from exile with their king. The family of the earl of Berkſhire produced no leſs than four writers of comedy, all brothers, Edward Howard, colonel Henry Howard, ſir Robert Howard, and James Howard, while their ſiſter, the lady Elizabeth Howard, was married to the poet Dryden. Edward Howard's firſt dramatic piece was a tragi-comedy entitled "The Uſurper," which came out in 1668, and was intended as a ſatire upon Cromwell. His beſt known comedies were "The Man of Newmarket," and "Woman's Conqueſt." Colonel Henry Howard compoſed a comedy entitled "United Kingdoms," which appears not to have been printed. To James Howard, the youngeſt of the brothers, the play-going public, even then rather a large one, owed "The Engliſh Mounſieur," and "All Miſtaken, or the Mad Couple." Sir Robert Howard was the beſt writer of the four, and wrote both tragedies and comedies, which were afterwards publiſhed collectively. The beſt of his comedies is "The Committee," which was firſt brought on the ſtage in 1665, and through ſome chance, certainly not by its merit, continued to be an acting play during the whole of the laſt century.

"The Committee" is by far the beſt of the dramatic writings of the Howards. Its deſign was to turn to ridicule the Commonwealth men and the Puritans. Colonel Blunt and colonel Careleſs are two royaliſts, whoſe eſtates are in the hands of the committee of ſequeſtrations, and who repair to London for the purpoſe of compounding for them. The chairman of the committee is a Mr. Day, a worldly-minded and ſufficiently ſelfiſh Puritan, but who is ruled by his more crafty and ſtill leſs ſcrupulous wife, a deſigning and very talkative woman. Both are of low origin, for Mrs. Day had been a kitchen-woman, and both are very proud and very tyrannical. Among the other principal characters are Abel Day, their ſon, Obadiah, the clerk to the committee, a man in the intereſt of the Days, and an Iriſh ſervant named Teague, who had been the ſervant of Careleſs's dear friend, a royaliſt officer killed in battle, and whom the colonel finds in great diſtreſs, and takes into his own ſervice out of charity. The character of Teague is a very poor caricature upon an Iriſhman, and his blunders and bulls are of a very ſpiritleſs deſcription. Here is an example.

Teague

Teague has overheard the two colonels ſtate that they ſhould be obliged to take the Covenant, and expreſs their reluctance to do it, and in his inconſiderate zeal, he hurries away to try if he cannot take the covenant for them, and thus ſave them a diſagreeable operation. In the ſtreet he meets a wandering bookſeller—a claſs of pedlars who were then common—and a ſcene takes place which is beſt given in the words of the original:—

Bookſeller.—New books, new books! A Desperate Plot and Engagement of the Bloody Cavaliers! Mr. Saltmarshe's Alarum to the Nation, after having been three days dead! Mercurius Britannicus—

Teague.—How's that? They cannot live in Ireland after they are dead three days!

Book.—Mercurius Britannicus, or the Weekly Post, or the Solemn League and Covenant!

Teag.—What is that you say? Is it the Covenant you have?

Book.—Yes; what then, sir?

Teag.—Which is that Covenant?

Book.—Why, this is the Covenant.

Teag.—Well, I must take that Covenant.

Book.—You take my commodities?

Teag.—I must take that Covenant, upon my soul, now.

Book.—Stand off, sir, or I'll set you further!

Teag.—Well, upon my soul, now, I will take the Covenant for my master.

Book.—Your master must pay me for 't, then!

Teag.—I must take it first, and my master will pay you afterwards.

Book.—You must pay me now.

Teag.—Oh! that I will [*Knocks him down*]. Now you're paid, you thief of the world. Here's Covenants enough to poison the whole nation. [*Exit.*

Book.—What a devil ails this fellow? [*Crying*]. He did not come to rob me, certainly; for he has not taken above two-pennyworth of lamentable ware away; but I feel the rascal's fingers. I may light upon my wild Irishman again, and, if I do, I will fix him with some catchpole, that shall be worse than his own country bogs. [*Exit.*

In the ſequel, Teague is caught by the conſtables, and is liberated at the interference of his maſter, who pays twopence for the book. The plot of the comedy is but a ſimple one, and is neither ſkilfully nor naturally carried out. Colonel Blunt comes to London from Reading in the

inſide of a ſtage-coach, having for his travelling companions Mrs. Day, her ſuppoſed daughter Ruth, and Arabella, a young lady whoſe father is recently dead, leaving his eſtates in the hands of the committee of ſequeſtrations. Ruth is, in truth, a young lady whoſe eſtates the Days have, under ſimilar circumſtances, robbed her of, and it is their deſign to treat Arabella in the ſame manner, under diſguiſe of forcing her to marry their ſon Abel, a vain ſilly lad. To effect this, as the committee itſelf requires ſome influencing to engage them in the ſelfiſh plans of their chairman, Day and his wife forge a letter from the exiled king, complimenting the former on his great power and influence and talents as a ſtateſman, and offering him great rewards if he will ſecretly promote his cauſe. Day communicates this to the committee under the pretext that it is his duty to make them acquainted with all ſuch perfidious deſigns that might come to his knowledge, and they, convinced of his honeſty and value to them, give up Arabella's eſtates to the Days, and ſhe falls entirely under their power. Meanwhile, on the one hand, Arabella has gained the confidence of Ruth, who makes her acquainted with the whole plot againſt her and her eſtates, and on the other, Ruth falls in love with colonel Careleſs, and colonel Blunt is ſmitten with the charms of Arabella, and all this takes place in the committee room. Various incidents follow, which ſeem not very much to the purpoſe, but at laſt, as the marriage of Arabella to Abel Day is preſſed forward, the two young ladies, although as yet they have hardly had an interview with the colonels, reſolve to make their eſcape from the houſe of the chairman of the committee, and fly to their lovers for protection. A ſhort abſence from the houſe of Mr. and Mrs. Day and their ſon together, preſents the deſired opportunity, and Day having accidentally left his keys behind him, the idea ſuggeſts itſelf to Ruth to open his cabinet, and gain poſſeſſion of the deeds and papers of her own eſtates and thoſe of Arabella. As ſhe had before this ſecretly obſerved the private drawer in which they were placed, ſhe met with no difficulty in effecting her purpoſe, and not only found theſe documents, but alſo with them the forged letter from the king, and ſome letters addreſſed to Day by young women whom he was ſecretly keeping, and who demanded money for the ſupport of children they had by him, and

alluded to matters of a ſtill more ſerious character. Ruth takes poſſeſſion of all theſe, and thus laden, the two damſels hurry away, and reach without interruption the houſe where they were to meet the colonels. The Days return home immediately after the departure of their wards, and at once ſuſpect the real ſtate of affairs, which is fully confirmed, when Mr. Day finds that his moſt private drawer has been opened, and his moſt important papers carried off. They immediately proceed in ſearch of the fugitives, having ſent orders for a detachment of ſoldiers to aſſiſt them, and the houſe in which the lovers have taken refuge is ſurrounded before they have had time to eſcape. Finding it uſeleſs to attempt reſiſtance by force, the beſieged call for a parley, and then Ruth frightens Day by acquainting him with the contents of the private letters ſhe has become poſſeſſed of, and his wife by the knowledge ſhe has obtained of the forged letter, which alſo ſhe has in her poſſeſſion. The Days are thus overreached, and the play ends with a general reconciliation. The ladies are left with the titles of their eſtates, and with their lovers, and we are left to ſuppoſe that they afterwards married, and were happy.

The plot of "The Committee," it will be ſeen, is not a very capital one, but the manner in which it is worked out is ſtill worſe. The dialogue is extremely tame, and the incidents are badly interwoven. When I ſay that the example of wit given above is the beſt in the play, and that there are not many attempts at wit in it, it will hardly be thought that it could be amuſing, and we cannot but feel aſtoniſhed at the popularity which it once enjoyed. This popularity, indeed, is only explained by the faſhion of ridiculing the Puritans, which then prevailed ſo ſtrongly; and it perhaps retained its place on the ſtage during the laſt century chiefly from the circumſtance of its wanting the objectionable qualities which characteriſed the written plays of the latter half of the ſeventeenth century.

"The Committee" is, after all, one of the very beſt comedies of the ſchool of dramatiſts repreſented by the brothers Howard. Contemporary with this ſchool of flat comedies, there was a ſchool of equally inflated tragedy, and both ſoon became objects of ridicule to the ſatiriſts of the day. Of theſe, one of the boldeſt was George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, the

the ſon of the favourite of king James I., and equally celebrated for his talents and his profligacy. Buckingham is ſaid to have planned and begun his ſatirical comedy of "The Rehearſal" as early as the year 1663, and to have had it ready for repreſentation towards the December of 1665, when the breaking out of the great plague cauſed the theatres to be cloſed. After this interruption its author, who was a deſultory writer, appears to have laid it aſide for ſome time and then, new objects for ſatire having preſented themſelves, he altered and modified it, and it was finally completed in 1671, when it was brought out at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. It is ſaid that Buckingham was aſſiſted in the compoſition of this ſatire, but it is not ſtated in what manner, by Butler, and by Martin Clifford, of the Charter-houſe. It is underſtood that, in the firſt form of his ſatire, Buckingham had choſen the Hon. Edward Howard for its hero, and that he afterwards exchanged him for Sir William Davenant, but he finally fixed upon Dryden, whoſe tragedies and comedies are certainly not the beſt of his writings—poſſibly ſome perſonal pique may have had an influence in the ſelection. Nevertheleſs, with Dryden, the Howards, Davenant, and one or two other writers of comedy, come in for their ſhare of ridicule. Dryden, under the name of Bayes, has compoſed a new drama, and a friend named Johnſon goes to witneſs the rehearſal of this play, taking with him a country friend of the name of Smith. The play itſelf is a piece of mockery throughout, made up of parodies, often very happy, on the different play-writers of the day, and eſpecially upon Dryden; and it is mixed up with a running converſation between Bayes, the author, and his two viſitors, which is full of ſatirical humour. The firſt part of the prologue explains to us ſufficiently the ſpirit in which this ſatire was written.

We might well call this ſhort mock-play of ours
A poſie made of weeds inſtead of flowers;
Yet ſuch have been preſented to your noſes,
And there are ſuch, I fear, who thought 'em roſes.
Would ſome of 'em were here, to ſee this night
What ſtuff it is in which they took delight.
Here, briſk, inſipid rogues, for wit, let fall
Sometimes dull ſenſe, but oft'ner none at all;

There

There, ſtrutting heroes, with a grim-fac'd train,
Shall brave the gods, in king Cambyſes vein.
For (changing rules, of late, as if men writ
In ſpite of reaſon, nature, art, and wit)
Our poets make us laugh at tragedy,
And with their comedies they make us cry.

A ſhort account of this ſatire will, perhaps, be beſt underſtood, if I explain that the antagoniſm of two contending kings of Granada having been a favourite idea of Dryden in his tragedies, Buckingham is ſaid to have deſigned to ridicule him in making two, not rival, but aſſociate kings of Brentford, though others ſay that theſe two kings of Brentford were intended for a ſneer upon king Charles II. and the duke of York. Theſe two kings are the heroes of Bayes's play. The firſt act of "The Rehearſal" conſiſts of a diſcuſſion between Bayes, Johnſon, and Smith, on the general character of the play, in which Bayes exhibits a large amount of vanity and ſelf-confidence, ſaid to have been a characteriſtic of all theſe play-writers of the earlier period of the Reſtoration, and he informs them that he has "made a prologue and an epilogue, which may both ſerve for either; that is, the prologue for the epilogue, or the epilogue for the prologue, (do you mark!) nay, they may both ſerve, too, 'egad, for any other play as well as this." Smith obſerves, "That's indeed artificial." Finally Bayes explains, that as other authors, in their prologues, ſought to flatter and propitiate their audience, in order to gain their favourable opinion of the plot, he, on the contrary, intended to force their applauſe out of them by mere dint of terror, and for that purpoſe, he had introduced as ſpeakers of his prologue, no leſs perſonages than Thunder and Lightning. This prologue, diſengaged from the remarks of Bayes and his friends, runs as follows:—

Enter THUNDER *and* LIGHTNING.

Thun.—I am the bold Thunder.
Light.—The brisk Lightning I.
Thun.—I am the bravest Hector of the sky.
Light.—And I fair Helen, that made Hector die.
Thun.—I strike men down.
Light.—I fire the town.

Thun.

Thun.—Let critics take heed how they grumble,
For then I begin for to rumble.
Light.—Let the ladies allow us their graces,
Or I'll blast all the paint on their faces,
And dry up their peter to soot.
Thun.—Let the critics look to't.
Light.—Let the ladies look to't.
Thun.—For the Thunder will do't.
Light.—For the Lightning will shoot.
Thun.—I'll give you dash for dash.
Light.—I'll give you flash for flash.
Gallants, I'll singe your feather.
Thun.—I'll Thunder you together.
Both.—Look to't, look to't; we'll do't, we'll do't; look to't; we'll do't. [*Twice or thrice repeated.*

Bayes calls this "but a flath of a prologue," in reply to which, Smith obſerves, "Yes; 'tis ſhort, indeed, but very terrible." It is a parody on a ſcene in "The Slighted Maid," a play by Sir Robert Stapleton, where Thunder and Lightning were introduced, and their converſation begins in the ſame words. But the poet has another difficulty on which he deſires the opinion of his viſitors. "I have made," he ſays, "one of the moſt delicate, dainty ſimiles in the whole world, 'egad, if I knew how to apply it. 'Tis," he adds, "an alluſion to love." This is the ſimile—

So boar and ſow, when any ſtorm is nigh
Snuff up, and ſmell it gathering in the ſky;
Boar beckons ſow to trot in cheſnut groves,
And there conſummate their unfiniſhed loves:
Penſive in mud they wallow all alone,
And ſnore and grunt to each other's moan.

It is a rather coarſe, but clever parody on a ſimile in Dryden's "Conqueſt of Granada," part ii.:—

So two kind turtles, when a ſtorm is nigh,
Look up, and ſee it gathering in the ſky;
Each calls his mate to ſhelter in the groves,
Leaving, in murmurs, their unfiniſhed loves;
Perch'd on ſome dropping branch, they ſit alone,
And coo, and hearken to each other's moan.

It

It is decided that the ſimile ſhould be added to the prologue, for, as Johnſon remarks to Bayes, "Faith, 'tis extraordinary fine, and very applicable to Thunder and Lightning, methinks, becauſe it ſpeaks of a ſtorm." In the ſecond act we come to the opening of the play, the firſt ſcene conſiſting of whiſpering, in ridicule of a ſcene in Davenant's "Play-houſe to Let," where Drake ſenior ſays—

Draw up your men,
And in low whiſpers give your orders out.

In fact, the Gentleman-Uſher and the Phyſician of the two kings of Brentford appear upon the ſcene alone, and diſcuſs a plot to dethrone the two kings of Brentford, which they communicate by whiſpers into each other's ears, which are totally inaudible. In Scene ii., "Enter the two kings, hand in hand," and Bayes remarks to his viſitors, "Oh! theſe are now the two kings of Brentford; take notice of their ſtyle—'twas never yet upon the ſtage; but, if you like it, I could make a ſhift, perhaps, to ſhow you a whole play, writ all juſt ſo." The kings begin, rather familiarly, becauſe, as Bayes adds, "they are both perſons of the ſame quality:"—

1ſt King.—Did you obſerve their whiſpers, brother king?
2nd King.—I did, and heard, beſides, a grave bird ſing,
That they intend, ſweetheart, to play us pranks.
1ſt King.—If that deſign appears,
I'll lay them by the ears,
Until I make 'em crack.
2nd King.—And ſo will I, i' fack!
1ſt King.—You muſt begin, *mon foi.*
2nd King.—Sweet ſir, *pardonnez moi.*

Bayes obſerves that he makes the two kings talk French in order "to ſhow their breeding." In the third act, Bayes introduces a new character, prince Prettyman, a parody upon the character of Leonidas, in Dryden's "Marriage-a-la-Mode." The prince falls aſleep, and then his beloved Cloris comes in, and is ſurpriſed, upon which Bayes remarks, "Now, here ſhe muſt make a ſimile." "Where's the neceſſity of that, Mr. Bayes?" aſks the critical Mr. Smith. "Oh," replies Bayes, "becauſe ſhe's ſurpriſed. That's a general rule. You muſt ever make a ſimile when

when you are ſurpriſed; 'tis a new way of writing." Now we have another parody upon one of Dryden's ſimiles. In the fourth ſcene, the Gentleman-Uſher and Phyſician appear again, diſcuſſing the queſtion whether their whiſpers had been heard or not, a diſcuſſion which they conclude by ſeizing on the two thrones, and occupying them with their drawn ſwords in their hands. Then they march out to raiſe their forces, and a battle to muſic takes place, four ſoldiers on each ſide, who are all killed. Next we have a ſcene between prince Prettyman and his tailor, Tom Thimble, which involves a joke upon the princely principle of non-payment. A ſcene or two follows in a ſimilar tone, without at all advancing the plot; although it appears that another prince, Volſcius, who, we are to ſuppoſe, ſupports the old dynaſty of Brentford, has made his eſcape to Piccadilly, while the army which he is to lead has aſſembled, and is concealed, at Knightſbridge. This incident produces a diſcuſſion between Mr. Bayes and his friends:—

Smith.—But pray, Mr. Bayes, is not this a little difficult, that you were saying e'en now, to keep an army thus concealed in Knightsbridge?

Bayes.—In Knightsbridge?—stay.

Johnſon.—No, not if inn-keepers be his friends.*

Bayes.—His friends? Ay, sir, his intimate acquaintance; or else, indeed, I grant it could not be.

Smith.—Yes, faith, so it might be very easy.

Bayes.—Nay, if I don't make all things easy, 'egad, I'll give 'em leave to hang me. Now you would think that he is going out of town; but you will see how prettily I have contrived to stop him, presently.

Accordingly, prince Volſcius yields to the influence of a fair *demoiſelle*, who bears the claſſical name of Parthenope, and after various exhibitions of heſitation, he does not leave town. Another ſcene or two, with little meaning, but full of clever parodies on the plays of Dryden, the Howards, and their contemporaries. The firſt ſcene of the fourth act opens with a funeral,

* Knightsbridge, as the principal entrance to London from the west, was full of inns.

funeral, a parody upon colonel Henry Howard's play of the "United Kingdoms." Pallas interferes, brings the lady who is to be buried to life, gets up a dance, and furniſhes a very extempore feaſt. The princes Prettyman and Volſcius diſpute about their ſweethearts. At the commencement of the fifth act the two uſurping kings appear in ſtate, attended by four cardinals, the two princes, all the lady-loves, heralds, and ſergeants-at-arms, &c. In the middle of all this ſtate, "the two right kings of Brentford deſcend in the clouds, ſinging, in white garments, and three fiddlers ſitting before them in green." "Now," ſays Bayes to his friends, "becauſe the two right kings deſcend from above, I make 'em ſing to the tune and ſtyle of our modern ſpirits." And accordingly they proceeded in a continuous parody:—

1ſt King.—Haste, brother king, we are sent from above.
2nd King.—Let us move, let us move;
Move, to remove the fate
Of Brentford's long united state.
1ſt King.—Tara, tan, tara!—full east and by south.
2nd King.—We sail with thunder in our mouth.
In scorching noon-day, whilst the traveller stays,
Busy, busy, busy, busy, we bustle along,
Mounted upon warm Phœbus's rays,
Through the heavenly throng,
Hasting to those
Who will feast us at night with a pig's pettytoes.
1ſt King.—And we'll fall with our plate
In an olio of hate
2nd King.—But, now supper's done, the servitors try,
Like soldiers, to storm a whole half-moon pie.
1ſt King.—They gather, they gather, hot custards in spoons:
But, alas! I must leave these half-moons,
And repair to my trusty dragoons.
2nd King.—O stay! for you need not as yet go astray;
The tide, like a friend, has brought ships in our way,
And on their high ropes we will play;
Like maggots in filberts, we'll snug in our shell,
We'll frisk in our shell,
We'll firk in our shell,
And farewell.
1ſt King.—But the ladies have all inclination to dance,
And the green frogs croak out a coranto of France.

All

All this is quite Ariſtophanic. It is interrupted by a diſcuſſion between Bayes and his viſitors on the muſic and the dance, and then the two kings continue:—

2nd King.—Now mortals, that hear
How we tilt and career,
With wonder, will fear
The event of such things as shall never appear.
1ſt King.—Stay you to fulfil what the gods have decreed.
2nd King.—Then call me to help you, if there shall be need.
1ſt King.—So firmly resolved is a true Brentford king,
To save the distressed, and help to 'em bring,
That, ere a full pot of good ale you can swallow,
He's here with a whoop, and gone with a halloo.

The rather too inquiſitive Smith wonders at all this, and complains that, to him, the ſenſe of this is "not very plain." "Plain!" exclaims Bayes, "why, did you ever hear any people in the clouds ſpeak plain? They muſt be all for flight of fancy, at its full range, without the leaſt check or control upon it. When once you tie up ſprites and people in clouds to ſpeak plain, you ſpoil all." The two kings of Brentford now "light out of the clouds, and ſtep into the throne," continuing the ſame dignified converſation:—

1ſt King.—Come, now to ſerious council we'll advance.
2nd King.—I do agree; but first, let's have a dance.

This confidence of the two kings of Brentford is ſuddenly diſturbed by the ſound of war. Two heralds announce that the army, that of Knightſbridge, had come to protect them, and that it had come *in diſguiſe*, an arrangement which puzzles the author's two viſitors:—

1ſt King.—What saucy groom molests our privacies?
1ſt Herald.—The army's at the door, and, in disguise,
Desires a word with both your majesties.
2nd Herald.—Having from Knightsbridge hither march'd by stealth.
2nd King.—Bid 'em attend a while, and drink our health.
Smith.—How, Mr. Bayes? The army in disguise!
Bayes.—Ay, sir, for fear the usurpers might diſcover them, that went out but just now.

War itſelf follows, and the commanders of the two armies, the general and the lieutenant-general, appear upon the ſtage in another parody upon the opening ſcenes of Dryden's "Siege of Rhodes:"—

Enter, at ſeveral doors, the GENERAL *and* LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, *armed cap-à-pie, with each a lute in his hand, and his ſword drawn, and hung with a ſcarlet riband at the wriſt.*

Lieut.-Gen.—Villain, thou lieſt.
Gen.—Arm, arm, Gonſalvo, arm. What! ho!
The lie no fleſh can brook, I trow.
Lieut.-Gen.—Advance from Acton with the musqueteers.
Gen.—Draw down the Chelsea cuirassiers.
Lieut.-Gen.—The band you boast of, Chelsea cuirassiers,
Shall in my Putney pikes now meet their peers.
Gen.—Chiswickians, aged, and renowned in fight,
Join with the Hammersmith brigade.
Lieut.-Gen.—You'll find my Mortlake boys will do them right,
Unless by Fulham numbers over-laid.
Gen.—Let the left wing of Twick'n'am foot advance,
And line that eastern hedge.
Lieut.-Gen.—The horse I raised in Petty France
Shall try their chance,
And scour the meadows, overgrown with sedge.
Gen.—Stand: give the word.
Lieut.-Gen.—Bright sword.
Gen.—That may be thine,
But 'tis not mine.
Lieut.-Gen.—Give fire, give fire, at once give fire,
And let those recreant troops perceive mine ire.
Gen.—Pursue, pursue; they fly,
That first did give the lie! [*Exeunt.*

Thus the battle is carried on in talk between two individuals. Bayes alleges, as an excuſe for introducing theſe trivial names of places, that "the ſpectators know all theſe towns, and may eaſily conceive them to be within the dominions of the two kings of Brentford." The battle is finally ſtopped by an eclipſe, and three perſonages, repreſenting the ſun, moon, and earth, advance upon the ſtage, and by dint of ſinging and manœuvring, one gets in a line between the other two, and this, according to the ſtrict rules of aſtronomy, conſtituted the eclipſe. The eclipſe is followed by another battle of a more deſperate character, to which a ſtop

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is put in an equally extraordinary manner, by the entrance of the furious hero Drawcanſir, who ſlays all the combatants on both ſides. The marriage of prince Prettyman was to form the ſubject of the fifth act, but while Bayes, Johnſon, and Smith withdraw temporarily, all the players, in diſguſt, run away to their dinners, and thus ends "The Rehearſal" of Mr. Bayes's play. The epilogue returns to the moral which the play was deſigned to inculcate :—

The play is at an end, but where's the plot?
That circumſtance the poet Bayes forgot.
And we can boaſt, though 'tis a plotting age,
No place is freer from it than the ſtage.

Formerly people ſought to write ſo that they might be underſtood, but "this new way of wit" was altogether incomprehenſible :—

Wherefore, for ours, and for the kingdom's peace,
May this prodigious way of writing ceaſe;
Let's have, at leaſt once in our lives, a time
When we may hear ſome reaſon, not all rhyme.
We have this ten years felt its influence;
Pray let this prove a year of proſe and ſenſe.

Engliſh comedy was certainly greatly reformed, in ſome ſenſes of the word reform, during the period which followed the publication of "The Rehearſal," and, in the hands of writers like Wycherley, Shadwell, Congreve, and D'Urfey, the dulneſs of the Howards was exchanged for an extreme degree of vivacity. The plot was as little conſidered as ever—it was a mere peg on which to hang ſcenes brilliant with wit and *repartee*. The ſmall intrigue is often but a frame for a great picture of ſociety in its forms then moſt open to caricature, with all the petty intrigues inſeparable from it. "Epſom Wells," one of Shadwell's earlier comedies, and perhaps his beſt, will bear compariſon with Jonſon's "Bartholomew Fair." The perſonages repreſented in it are exactly thoſe which then ſhone in ſuch ſociety—three "men of wit and pleaſure," one of the claſs of country ſquires whom the wits of London loved to laugh at, and who is deſcribed as "a country juſtice, a public ſpirited, politick, diſcontented

diſcontented ſop, an immoderate hater of London, and a lover of the country above meaſure, a hearty true Engliſh coxcomb." Then we have "two cheating, ſharking, cowardly bullies." The citizens of London are repreſented by Biſket, "a comfit-maker, a quiet, humble, civil cuckold, governed by his wife, whom he very much fears and loves at the ſame time, and is very proud of," and Fribble, "a haberdaſher, a ſurly cuckold, very conceited, and proud of his wife, but pretends to govern and keep her under," and their wives, the firſt "an impertinent, imperious ſtrumpet," and the other, "an humble, ſubmitting wife, who jilts her huſband that way, a very ——" One or two other characters of the ſame ſtamp, with "two young ladies of wit, beauty, and fortune," who behave themſelves not much better than the others, and a full allowance of "parſons, hectors, conſtables, watchmen, and fiddlers," complete the *dramatis perſonæ* of "Epſom Wells." With ſuch materials anybody will underſtand the character of the piece, which was brought out on the ſtage in 1672. "The Squire of Alſatia," by the ſame author, brought upon the ſtage in the eventful year 1688, is a vivid picture of one of the wildeſt phaſes of London life in thoſe ſtill rather primitive times. Alſatia, as every reader of Walter Scott knows, was a cant name for the White Friars, in London, a locality which, at that time, was beyond the reach of the law and its officers, a refuge for thieves and rogues, and eſpecially for debtors, where they could either reſiſt with no great fear of being overcome, or, when reſiſtance was no longer poſſible, eſcape with eaſe. With ſuch a ſcene, and ſuch people for characters, we are not ſurpriſed that the printed edition of this play is prefaced by a vocabulary of the cant words employed in it. The principal characters in the play are of the ſame claſs with thoſe which form the ſtaple of all theſe old comedies. Firſt there is a country father or uncle, who is rich and ſevere upon the vices of youth, or arbitrary, or avaricious. He is here repreſented by ſir William Belfond, "a gentleman of about £3000 per annum, who in his youth had been a ſpark of the town; but married and retired into the country, where he turned to the other extreme—rigid, moroſe, moſt ſordidly covetous, clowniſh, obſtinate, poſitive, and forward." He muſt have a London brother, or near relative, endowed with exactly contrary qualities, here repreſented by

by ſir Edward Belfond, ſir William's brother, "a merchant, who by lucky hits had gotten a great eſtate, lives ſingle with eaſe and pleaſure, reaſonably and virtuouſly, a man of great humanity and gentleneſs and compaſſion towards mankind, well read in good books, poſſeſſed with all gentlemanlike qualities." Sir William Belfond has two ſons. Belfond ſenior, the eldeſt, is "bred after his father's ruſtic, ſwiniſh manner, with great rigour and ſeverity, upon whom his father's eſtate is entailed, the confidence of which makes him break out into open rebellion to his father, and become lewd, abominably vicious, ſtubborn, and obſtinate." The younger Belfond, Sir William's ſecond ſon, had been "adopted by Sir Edward, and bred from his childhood by him, with all the tenderneſs and familiarity, and bounty, and liberty that can be;" he was "inſtructed in all the liberal ſciences, and in all gentleman-like education; ſomewhat given to women, and now and then to good fellowſhip; but an ingenious, well-accompliſhed gentleman; a man of honour, and of excellent diſpoſition and temper." Then we have ſome of the leading heroes of Alſatia, and firſt Cheatly, who is deſcribed as "a raſcal, who by reaſon of debts, dares not ſtir out of Whitefryers, but there inveigles young heirs in tail; and helps 'em to goods and money upon great diſadvantages; is bound for them, and ſhares with them, till he undoes them; a lewd, impudent, debauched fellow, very expert in the cant about the town." Shamwell is "couſin to the Belfonds, an heir, who, being ruined by Cheatly, is made a decoy-duck for others; not daring to ſtay out of Alſatia, where he lives; is bound with Cheatly for heirs, and lives upon them, a diſſolute, debauch'd life." Another of theſe characters is captain Hackum, "a block-headed bully of Alſatia; a cowardly, impudent, bluſtering fellow; formerly a ſergeant in Flanders, run from his colours, retreating into Whitefryers for a very ſmall debt; where by the Alſatians he is dubb'd a captain; marries one that lets lodgings, ſells cherry-brandy, and is a bawd." Nor is Alſatia without a repreſentative of the Puritanical part of ſociety, in Scrapeall, "a hypocritical, repeating, praying, pſalm-ſinging, preciſe fellow, pretending to great piety; a godly knave, who joins with Cheatly, and ſupplies young heirs with goods and money." A rather large number of inferior characters fill up the canvas; and the females

females, with two exceptions, belong to the ſame claſs. The plot of this play is very ſimple. The elder ſon of ſir William Belfond has taken to Alſatia, but ſir William, on his return from abroad, hearing talk of the fame of a ſquire Belfond among the Alſatians, imagines that it is his younger ſon, and out of this miſtake a conſiderable amount of miſunderſtanding ariſes. At laſt ſir William diſcovers his error, and finds his eldeſt ſon in Whitefryers, but the youth ſets him at defiance. The father, in great anger, brings tipſtaff conſtables, to take away his ſon by force; but the Alſatians riſe in force, the officers of the law are beaten, and ſir William himſelf taken priſoner. He is reſcued by the younger Belfond, and in the concluſion the elder brother becomes penitent, and is reconciled with his father. There is an underplot, far from moral in its character, which ends in the marriage of Belfond junior. It is a buſy, noiſy play, and was a great favourite on the ſtage; but it is now chiefly intereſting as a vivid picture of London life in the latter half of the ſeventeenth century. "Bury Fair," by Shadwell, is another comedy of the ſame deſcription; with little intereſt in the plot, but full of life and movement. If "The Squire of Alſatia" was noiſy, "The Scowrers," another comedy by the ſame author, firſt brought on the ſtage in 1691, was ſtill more ſo. The wild and riotous gallants who, in former times of inefficient police regulation, infeſted the ſtreets at night, and committed all ſorts of outrages, were known at different periods by a variety of names. In the reign of James I. and Charles I. they were the "roaring boys;" in the time of Shadwell, they were called the "ſcowrers," becauſe they ſcowered the ſtreets at night, and rather roughly cleared them of all paſſengers; a few years later they took the name of Mohocks, or Mohawks. During the night London lay at the mercy of theſe riotous claſſes, and the ſtreets witneſſed ſcenes of brutal violence, which, at the preſent day, we can hardly imagine. This ſtate of things is pictured in Shadwell's comedy. Sir William Rant, Wildfire, and Tope, are noted ſcowrers, well known in the town, whoſe fame has excited emulation in men of leſs diſtinction in their way, Whachum, "a city wit and ſcowrer, imitator of ſir William," and "two ſcoundrells," his companions, Bluſter and Dingboy. Great enmity ariſes between the two

two parties of rival ſcowrers. The more ſerious characters in the play are Mr. Rant, ſir William Rant's father, and ſir Richard Maggot, "a fooliſh Jacobite alderman" (it muſt be remembered that we are now in the reign of king William). Sir Richard's wife, lady Maggot, like the citizen's wives of the comedy of the Reſtoration generally, is a lady rather wanting in virtue, ambitious of mixing with the gay and faſhionable world, and ſomewhat of a tyrant over her huſband. She has two handſome daughters, whom ſhe ſeeks to keep confined from the world, leſt they ſhould become her rivals. There are low characters of both ſexes, who need not be enumerated. Much of the play is taken up with ſtreet rows, capital ſatirical pictures of London life. The play ends with marriages, and with the reconciliation of ſir William Rant with his father, the ſerious old gentleman of the play. Shadwell excelled in theſe buſy comedies. One of the neareſt approaches to him is Mountfort's comedy of "Greenwich Park," which is another ſtriking ſatire on the looſeneſs of London life at that time. As in the others, the plot is ſimply nothing. The play conſiſts of a number of intrigues, ſuch as may be imagined, at a time when morality was little reſpected, in places of faſhionable reſort like Greenwich Park and Deptford Wells.

An element of ſatire was now introduced into Engliſh comedy which does not appear to have belonged to it before—this was mimicry. Although the principal characters in the play bore conventional names, they appear often to have been intended to repreſent individuals then well known in ſociety, and theſe individuals were caricatured in their dreſs, and mimicked in their language and manners. We are told that this mimicry contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of "The Rehearſal," the duke of Buckingham having taken incredible pains to make Lacy, who acted the part of Bayes, perfect in imitating the voice and manner of Dryden, whoſe dreſs and gait were minutely copied. This perſonal ſatire was not always performed with impunity. On the 1ſt of February, 1669, Pepys went to the Theatre Royal to ſee the performance of "The Heireſs," in which it appears that ſir Charles Sedley was perſonally caricatured, and the ſecretary of king Charles's admiralty has left in his diary the following entry:—"To the king's houſe, thinking to have ſeen the

the Heyreſſe, firſt acted on Saturday, but when we come thither we find no play there; Kynaſton, that did act a part therein in abuſe to ſir Charles Sedley, being laſt night exceedingly beaten with ſticks by two or three that ſaluted him, ſo as he is mightily bruiſed, and forced to keep his bed." It is ſaid that Dryden's comedy of "Limberham," brought on the ſtage in 1678, was prohibited after the firſt night, becauſe the character of Limberham was conſidered to be too open a ſatire on the duke of Lauderdale.

Another peculiarity in the comedies of the age of the Reſtoration was their extraordinary indelicacy. The writers ſeemed to emulate each other in preſenting upon the ſtage ſcenes and language which no modeſt ear or pure mind could ſupport. In the earlier period coarſeneſs in converſation was characteriſtic of an unpoliſhed age—the language put in the mouths of the actors, as remarked before, ſmelt of the tavern; but under Charles II. the tone of faſhionable ſociety, as repreſented on the ſtage, is modelled upon that of the brothel. Even the veiled alluſion is no longer reſorted to, broad and direct language is ſubſtituted in its place. This open profligacy of the ſtage reached its greateſt height between the years 1670 and 1680. The ſtaple material of this comedy may be conſidered to be the commiſſion of adultery, which is preſented as one of the principal ornaments in the character of the well-bred gentleman, varied with the ſeducing of other men's miſtreſſes, for the keeping of miſtreſſes appears as the rule of ſocial life. The "Country Wife," one of Wycherley's comedies, which is ſuppoſed to have been brought on the ſtage perhaps as early as 1672, is a maſs of groſs indecency from beginning to end. It involves two principal plots, that of a voluptuary who feigns himſelf incapable of love and inſenſible to the other ſex, in order to purſue his intrigues with greater liberty; and that of a citizen who takes to his wife a ſilly and innocent country girl, whoſe ignorance he believes will be a protection to her virtue, but the very means he takes to prevent her, lead to her fall. The "Parſon's Wedding," by Thomas Killigrew, firſt acted in 1673, is equally licentious. The ſame at leaſt may be ſaid of Dryden's "Limberham, or the Kind Keeper," firſt performed in 1678, which, according to the author's own ſtatement, was prohibited on account

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of its freeneſs, but more probably becauſe the character of Limberham was believed to be intended for a perſonal ſatire on the unpopular earl of Lauderdale. Its plot is ſimple enough; it is the ſtory of a debauched old gentleman, named Aldo, whoſe ſon, after a rather long abſence on the Continent, returns to England, and aſſumes the name of Woodall, in order to enjoy freely the pleaſures of London life before he makes himſelf known to his friends. He takes a lodging in a houſe occupied by ſome looſe women, and there meets with his father, but, as the latter does not recogniſe his ſon, they become friends, and live together licentiouſly ſo long, that when the ſon at length diſcovers himſelf, the old man is obliged to overlook his vices. Otway's comedy of "Friendſhip in Faſhion," performed the ſame year, was not a whit more moral. But all theſe are far outdone by Ravenſcroft's comedy of "The London Cuckolds," firſt brought out in 1682, which, nevertheleſs, continued to be acted until late in the laſt century. It is a clever comedy, full of action, and conſiſting of a great number of different incidents, ſelected from the leſs moral tales of the old ſtory-tellers as they appear in the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, among which that of the ignorant and uneducated young wife, ſimilar to the plot of Wycherley's "Country Wife," is again introduced.

The corruption of morals had become ſo great, that when women took up the pen, they exceeded in licentiouſneſs even the other ſex, as was the caſe with Mrs. Behn. Aphra Behn is underſtood to have been born at Canterbury, but to have paſſed ſome part of her youth in the colony of Surinam, of which her father was governor. She evidently poſſeſſed a diſpoſition for intrigue, and ſhe was employed by the Engliſh government, a few years after the Reſtoration, as a political ſpy at Antwerp. She ſubſequently ſettled in London, and gained a living by her pen, which was very prolific in novels, poems, and plays. It would be difficult to point out in any other works ſuch ſcenes of open profligacy as thoſe preſented in Mrs. Behn's two comedies of "Sir Patient Fancy" and "The City Heireſs, or Sir Timothy Treat-all," which appeared in 1678 and 1681. Concealment of the ſlighteſt kind is avoided, and even that which cannot be expoſed to view, is tolerably broadly deſcribed.

It appears that the performance of the "London Cuckolds" had

been the cauſe of ſome ſcandal, and there were, even among play-goers, ſome who took offence at ſuch outrages on the ordinary feelings of modeſty. The exceſs of the evil had begun to produce a reaction. Ravenſcroft, the author of that comedy, produced on the ſtage, in 1684, a comedy, entitled "Dame Dobſon, or the Cunning Woman," which was intended to be a modeſt play, but it was unceremoniouſly "damned" by the audience. The prologue to this new comedy intimates that the "London Cuckolds" had pleaſed the town and diverted the court, but that ſome "ſqueamiſh females" had taken offence at it, and that he had now written a "dull, civill" play to make amends. They are addreſſed, therefore, in ſuch terms as theſe:—

In you, chaſte ladies, then we hope to-day,
This is the poet's recantation play.
Come often to't, that he at length may ſee
'Tis more than a pretended modeſty.
Stick by him now, for if he finds you falter,
He quickly will his way of writing alter;
And every play ſhall ſend you bluſhing home,
For, though you rail, yet then we're ſure you'll come.

And it is further intimated,-

A naughty play was never counted dull—
Nor modeſt comedy e'er pleaſed you much.

"I remember," ſays Colley Cibber in his "Apology," looking back to theſe times, "I remember the ladies were then obſerved to be decently afraid of venturing bare-faced to a new comedy, till they had been aſſured they might do it without the riſk of an inſult to their modeſty; or if their curioſity were too ſtrong for their patience, they took care at leaſt to ſave appearances, and rarely came upon the firſt days of acting but in maſks (then daily worn, and admitted in the pit, the ſide boxes, and gallery), which cuſtom, however, had ſo many ill conſequences attending it, that it has been aboliſhed theſe many years." According to the *Spectator*, ladies began now to deſert the theatre when comedies were brought out, except thoſe who "never miſs the firſt day of a new play, leſt it ſhould prove too luſcious to admit of their going with any countenance to the ſecond."

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In the midſt of this abuſe, there ſuddenly appeared a book which created at the time a great ſenſation. The comedies of the latter half of the ſeventeenth century were not only indecent, but they were filled with profane language, and contained ſcenes in which religion itſelf was treated with contempt. At that time there lived a divine of the Church of England, celebrated for his Jacobitiſm—for I am now ſpeaking of the reign of king William—for his talents as a controverſial writer, and for his zeal in any cauſe which he undertook. This was Jeremy Collier, the author of ſeveral books of ſome merit, which are ſeldom read now, and who ſuffered for his zeal in the cauſe of king James, and for his refuſal to take the oath of allegiance to king William. In the year 1698 Collier publiſhed his "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneneſs of the Engliſh ſtage," in which he boldly attacked the licentiouſneſs of the Engliſh comedy. Perhaps Collier's zeal carried him a little too far; but he had offended the wits, and eſpecially the dramatic poets, on all ſides, and he was expoſed to attacks from all quarters, in which Dryden himſelf took an active part. Collier ſhowed himſelf fully capable of dealing with his opponents, and the controverſy had the effect of calling attention to the immoralities of the ſtage, and certainly contributed much towards reforming them. They were become much leſs frequent and leſs groſs at the opening of the eighteenth century.

Towards the end of the reign of king Charles II., the ſtage was more largely employed as a political agent, and under his ſucceſſor, James II., the Puritans and the Whigs were conſtantly held up to ſcorn. After the Revolution, the tables were turned, and the ſatire of the ſtage was often aimed at Tories and Non-jurors. "The Non-juror," by Colley Cibber, which appeared in 1717, at a very opportune moment, gained for its author a penſion and the office of poet-laureate. It was founded upon the "Tartuffe" of Molière, for the Engliſh comedy writers borrowed much from the foreign ſtage. A diſguiſed prieſt, who paſſes under the name of Dr. Wolf, and who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715, has inſinuated himſelf into the houſehold of a gentleman of fortune, of not very ſtrong judgment, Sir John Woodvil, whom, under the title of a Non-juror, he has not only induced to become an abettor of rebels, but he has perſuaded

perſuaded him to diſinherit his ſon, and he labours to ſeduce his wife and to deceive his daughter. His baſeneſs is expoſed only juſt ſoon enough to defeat his deſigns. Such a production as this could not fail to give great offence to all the Jacobite party, of whatever ſhade, who were then rather numerous in London, and Cibber aſſures us that his reward was a conſiderable amount of adverſe criticiſm in every quarter where the Tory influence reached. His comedies were inferior in brilliance of dialogue to thoſe of the previous age, but the plots were well imagined and conducted, and they are generally good acting plays.

To Samuel Foote, born in 1722, we owe the laſt change in the form and character of Engliſh comedy. A man of infinite wit and humour, and poſſeſſed of extraordinary talent as a mimic, Foote made mimicry the principal inſtrument of his ſucceſs on the ſtage. His plays are above all light and amuſing; he reduced the old comedy of five acts to three acts, and his plots were uſually ſimple, the dialogue full of wit and humour; but their peculiar characteriſtic was their open boldneſs of perſonal ſatire. It is entirely a comedy of his own. He ſought to direct his wit againſt all the vices of ſociety, but this he did by holding up to ridicule and ſcorn the individuals who had in ſome way or other made themſelves notorious by the practice of them. All his principal characters were real characters, who were more or leſs known to the public, and who were ſo perfectly mimicked on the ſtage in their dreſs, gait, and ſpeech, that it was impoſſible to miſtake them. Thus, in "The Devil upon Two Sticks," which is a general ſatire on the low condition to which the practice of medicine had then fallen, the perſonages introduced in it all repreſented quacks well known about the town. "The Maid of Bath" dragged upon the ſtage ſcandals which were then the talk of Bath ſociety. The nabob of the comedy which bears that title, had alſo his model in real life. "The Bankrupt" may be conſidered as a general ſatire on the baſeneſs of the newſpaper preſs of that day, which was made the means of propagating private ſcandals and libellous accuſations in order to extort money, yet the characters introduced are ſaid to have been all portraits from the life; and the ſame ſtatement is made with regard to the comedy of "The Author."

It

It is evident that a drama of this inquiſitorial character is a dangerous thing, and that it could hardly be allowed to exiſt where the rights of ſociety are properly defined; and we are not ſurpriſed if Foote provoked a hoſt of bitter enemies. But in ſome caſes the author met with puniſhment of a heavier and more ſubſtantial deſcription. One of the individuals introduced into "The Maid of Bath," extorted damages to the amount of £3,000. One of the perſons who figured in "The Author," obtained an order from the lord chamberlain for putting a ſtop to the performance after it had had a ſhort run; and the conſequences of "The Trip to Calais," were ſtill more diſaſtrous. It is well known that the character of lady Kitty Crocodile in that play was a broad caricature on the notorious ducheſs of Kingſton. Through the treachery of ſome of the people employed by Foote, the ducheſs obtained information of the nature of this play before it was ready for repreſentation, and ſhe had ſufficient influence to obtain the lord chamberlain's prohibition for bringing it on the ſtage. Nor was this all, for as the play was printed, if not acted,—and it was ſubſequently brought out, in a modified form, with omiſſion of the part of lady Kitty Crocodile, though the characters of ſome of her agents were ſtill retained,—infamous charges were got up againſt Foote, in retaliation, which cauſed him ſo much trouble and grief, that they are ſaid to have ſhortened his days.

The drama which Samuel Foote had invented did not outlive him; its caricature was itſelf transferred to the caricature of the print-ſhop.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CARICATURE IN HOLLAND.—ROMAIN DE HOOGHE.—THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.—CARICATURES ON LOUIS XIV. AND JAMES II.—DR. SACHEVERELL.—CARICATURE BROUGHT FROM HOLLAND TO ENGLAND.—ORIGIN OF THE WORD "CARICATURE."—MISSISSIPPI AND THE SOUTH SEA; THE YEAR OF BUBBLES.

MODERN political caricature, born, as we have ſeen, in France, may be conſidered to have had its cradle in Holland. The poſition of that country, and its greater degree of freedom, made it, in the ſeventeenth century, the general place of refuge to the political diſcontents of other lands, and eſpecially to the French who fled from the tyranny of Louis XIV. It poſſeſſed at that time ſome of the moſt ſkilful artiſts and beſt engravers in Europe, and it became the central ſpot from which were launched a multitude of ſatirical prints againſt that monarch's policy, and againſt himſelf and his favourites and miniſters. This was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the bitter hatred which Louis always diſplayed towards that country. He feared the caricatures of the Dutch more than their arms, and the pencil and graver of Romain de Hooghe were among the moſt effective weapons employed by William of Naſſau.

The marriage of William with Mary, daughter of the duke of York, in 1677, naturally gave the Dutch a greater intereſt than they could have felt before in the domeſtic affairs of Great Britain, and a new ſtimulus to their zeal againſt Louis of France, or, which was the ſame thing, againſt arbitrary power and Popery, both of which had been rendered odious under his name. The acceſſion of James II. to the throne of England, and his attempt to re-eſtabliſh Popery, added religious as well as political fuel to theſe feelings, for everybody underſtood that James was acting under

under the protection of the king of France. The very year of king James's accession, in 1685, the caricature appeared which we have copied in our cut No. 186, and which, although the inscription is in English, appears to have been the work of a foreign artist. It was probably intended to represent Mary of Modena, the queen of James II., and her

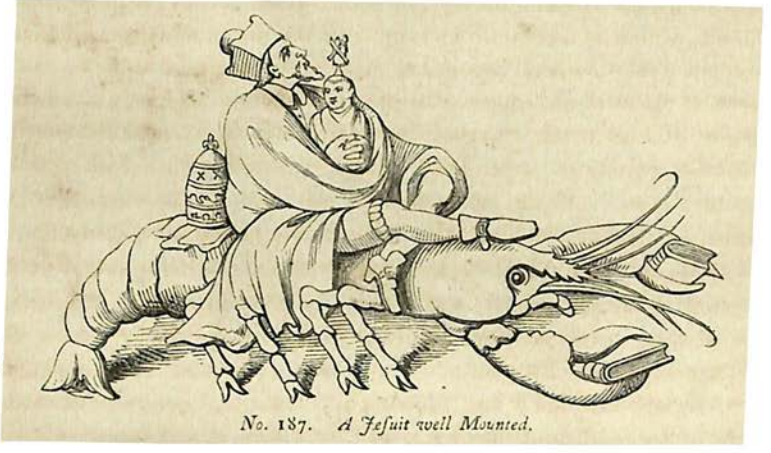
No. 186. A Dangerous Confessor.

rather famous confessor, father Petre, the latter under the character of the wolf among the sheep. Its aim is sufficiently evident to need no explanation.° At the top, in the original, are the Latin words, *Converte Angliam*, "convert England," and beneath, in English, "It is a foolish sheep that makes the wolf her confessor."

The period during which the Dutch school of caricature flourished, extended through the reign of Louis XIV., and into the regency in France, and two great events, the revolution of 1688 in England, and the wild money speculations of the year 1720, exercised especially the pencils of

of its caricaturiſts. The firſt of theſe events belongs almoſt entirely to Romain de Hooghe. Very little is known of the perſonal hiſtory of this remarkable artiſt, but he is believed to have been born towards the middle of the ſeventeenth century, and to have died in the earlier years of the eighteenth century. The older French writers on art, who were prejudiced againſt Romain de Hooghe for his bitter hoſtility to Louis XIV., inform us that in his youth he employed his graver on obſcene ſubjects, and led a life ſo openly licentious, that he was baniſhed from his native town of Amſterdam, and went to live at Haerlem. He gained celebrity by the ſeries of plates, executed in 1672, which repreſented the horrible atrocities committed in Holland by the French troops, and which raiſed againſt Louis XIV. the indignation of all Europe. It is ſaid that the prince of Orange (William III. of England), appreciating the value of his ſatire as a political weapon, ſecured it in his own intereſts by liberally patroniſing the caricaturiſt; and we owe to Romain de Hooghe a ſucceſſion of large prints in which the king of France, his *protégé* James II., and the adherents of the latter, are covered with ridicule. One, publiſhed in 1688, and entitled "Les Monarches Tombants," commemorates the flight of the royal family from England. Another, which appeared at the ſame date, is entitled, in French, "Arlequin ſur l'hypogryphe à la croiſade Loioliſte," and in Dutch, "Armeé van de Heylige League voor der Jeſuiten Monarchy" (*i.e.* "the army of the holy league for eſtabliſhing the monarchy of the Jeſuits"). Louis XIV. and James II. were repreſented under the characters of Arlequin and Panurge, who are ſeated on the animal here called a "hypogryphe," but which is really a wild aſs. The two kings have their heads joined together under one Jeſuit's cap. Other figures, forming part of this army of Jeſuitiſm, are diſtributed over the field, the moſt groteſque of which is that given in our cut No. 187. Two perſonages introduced in ſome ridiculous poſition or other, in moſt of theſe caricatures, are father Petre, the Jeſuit, and the infant prince of Wales, afterwards the old Pretender. It was pretended that this infant was in fact the child of a miller, ſecretly introduced into the queen's bed concealed in a warming-pan; and that this ingenious plot was contrived by father Petre. Hence the boy was popularly called Peterkin, or Perkin,

Perkin, *i.e.* little Peter, which was the name given afterwards to the Pretender in ſongs and ſatires at the time of his rebellion; and in the prints a windmill was uſually given to the child as a ſign of its father's trade. In the group repreſented in our cut, father Petre, with the child in his arms, is ſeated on a rather ſingular ſteed, a lobſter. The young



No. 187. A Jeſuit well Mounted.

prince here carries the windmill on his head. On the lobſter's back, behind the Jeſuit, are carried the papal crown, ſurmounted by a fleur-de-lis, with a bundle of relics, indulgences, &c., and it has ſeized in one claw the Engliſh church ſervice book, and in the other the book of the laws of England. In the Dutch deſcription of this print, the child is called "the new born Antichriſt." Another of Romain de Hooghe's prints, entitled "Panurge ſecondé par Arlequin Deodaat à la croiſade d'Irlande, 1689," is a ſatire on king James's expedition to Ireland, which led to the memorable battle of the Boyne. James and his friends are proceeding to the place of embarkation, and, as repreſented in our cut No. 188, father Petre marches in front, carrying the infant prince in his arms.

The drawing of Romain de Hooghe is not always correct, eſpecially in his larger ſubjects, which perhaps may be aſcribed to his haſty and careleſs manner of working; but he diſplays great ſkill in grouping his figures, and great power in inveſting them with a large amount of ſatirical

humour. Moſt of the other caricatures of the time are poor both in deſign and execution. Such is the caſe with a vulgar ſatirical print which was publiſhed in France in the autumn of 1690, on the arrival of a falſe rumour that king William had been killed in Ireland. In the

No. 188. *Off to Ireland.*

field of the picture the corpſe of the king is followed by a proceſſion conſiſting of his queen and the principal ſupporters of his cauſe. The lower corner on the left hand is occupied by a view of the interior of the infernal regions, and king William introduced in the place allotted to him among the flames. In different parts of the picture there are ſeveral inſcriptions, all breathing a ſpirit of very inſolent exultation. One of them is the—

Billet d'Enterrement.

Vous eſtes priez d'aſſister au convoy, ſervice, et enterrement du tres haut, tres grand, et tres infame Prince infernal, grand ſtadouter, des Armés diaboliques de la ligue d'Ausbourg, et inſigne uſurpateur des Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Eccoſſe, et d'Irlande, décédé dans l'Irlande au mois d'Aouſt 1690, qui ſe fera le dit mois, dans ſa paroiſſe infernale, ou aſſisteront Dame Proſerpine, Radamonte, et les Ligueurs.

Les Dames lui diront s'il leur plaiſt des injures.

The prints executed in England at this time were, if poſſible, worſe than thoſe publiſhed in France. Almoſt the only contemporary caricature on the downfall of the Stuarts that I know, is an ill-executed print, publiſhed

liſhed immediately after the acceſſion of William III., under the title, "England's Memorial of its wonderful deliverance from French Tyranny and Popiſh Oppreſſion." The middle of the picture is occupied by "the royal orange tree," which flouriſhes in ſpite of all the attempts to deſtroy it. At the upper corner, on the left ſide, is a repreſentation of the French king's "council," conſiſting of an equal number of Jeſuits and devils, ſeated alternately at a round table.

The circumſtance that the titles and inſcriptions of nearly all theſe caricatures are in Dutch, ſeems to ſhow that their influence was intended to be exerciſed in Holland rather than elſewhere. In two or three only of them theſe deſcriptions were accompanied with tranſlations in Engliſh or French; and after a time, copies of them began to be made in England, accompanied with Engliſh deſcriptions. A curious example of this is given in the fourth volume of the "Poems on State Affairs," printed in 1707. In the preface to this volume the editor takes occaſion to inform the reader—"That having procur'd from beyond ſea a Collection of Satyrical Prints done in Holland and elſewhere, by Rom. de Hoog, and other the beſt maſters, relating to the French King and his Adherents, ſince he unjuſtly begun this war, I have perſuaded the Bookſeller to be at the expenſe of ingraving ſeveral of them; to each of which I have given the Explanation in Engliſh verſe, they being in Dutch, French, or Latin in the originals." Copies of ſeven of theſe caricatures are accordingly given at the end of the volume, which are certainly inferior in every reſpect to thoſe of the beſt period of Romain de Hooghe. One of them commemorates the eclipſe of the ſun on the 12th of May, 1706. The ſun, as it might be conjectured, is Louis XIV., eclipſed by queen Anne, whoſe face occupies the place of the moon. In the foreground of the picture, juſt under the eclipſe, the queen is ſeated on her throne under a canopy, ſurrounded by her counſellors and generals. With her left arm ſhe holds down the Gallic cock, while with the other hand ſhe clips one of its wings (ſee our cut No. 189). In the upper corner on the right, is inſerted a picture of the battle of Ramillies, and in the lower corner on the left, a ſea-fight under admiral Leake, both victories gained in that year. Another of theſe copies of foreign prints is given in our cut

No. 190. We are told that "theſe figures repreſent a French trumpet and drum, ſent by Louis le Grand to enquire news of ſeveral citys loſt by the Mighty Monarch laſt campaign." The trumpeter holds in his hand a liſt of loſt towns, and another is pinned to the breaſt of the drummer;

No. 189. *Clipping the Cock's Wings.*

the former liſt is headed by the names of "Gaunt, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Bruges," the latter by "Barcelona."

The firſt remarkable outburſt of caricatures in England was cauſed by the proceedings againſt the notorious Dr. Sacheverell in 1710. It is ſomewhat curious that Sacheverell's partiſans ſpeak of caricatures as things brought recently from Holland, and new in England, and aſcribe the uſe of them as peculiar to the Whig party. The writer of a pamphlet, entitled "The Picture of Malice, or a true Account of Dr. Sacheverell's Enemies, and their behaviour with regard to him," informs us that "the chief means by which all the lower order of that ſort of men call'd Whigs, ſhall ever be found to act for the ruin of a potent adverſary, are the following three—by the Print, the Canto or Doggrell Poem, and by the Libell, gràve, calm, and cool, as the author of the 'True Anſwer' deſcribes it. Theſe are not all employed at the ſame time

time, any more than the ban and arierban of a kingdom is raiſed, unleſs to make ſure work, or in caſes of great exigency and imminent danger." "The Print," he goes on to ſay, "is originally a Dutch taliſman (bequeathed to the ancient Batavians by a certain Chineſe necromancer and

No. 190. *Trumpet and Drum.*

painter), with a virtue far exceeding that of the Palladium, not only of guarding their cities and provinces, but alſo of annoying their enemies, and preſerving a due balance amongſt the neighbouring powers around." This writer warms up ſo much in his indignation againſt this new weapon of the Whigs, that he breaks out in blank verſe to tell us how even the myſterious power of the magician did not deſtroy its victims—

Swifter than heretofore the Print effac'd
The pomp of mightieſt monarchs, and dethron'd
The dread idea of royal majeſty;
Dwindling the prince below the pigmy ſize.

Witneſs

Witneſs the once Great Louis in youthful pride,
And Charles of happy days, who both confeſſ'd
The magic power of mezzotinto ſhade,*
And form groteſque, in manifeſtoes loud
Denouncing death to boor and burgomaſter.
Witneſs, ye ſacred popes with triple crown,
Who likewiſe victims fell to hideous print,
Spurn'd by the populace who whilome lay
Proſtrate, and ev'n adored before your thrones.

We are then told that "this, if not the firſt, has yet been the chief machine which his enemies have employ'd againſt the doctor; they have

No. 191. *The Three Falſe Brethren.*

expoſed him in the ſame piece with the pope and the devil, and who now could imagine that any ſimple prieſt ſhould be able to ſtand before a power which had levelled popes and monarchs?" At leaſt one copy of the caricature here alluded to is preſerved, although a great rarity, and it is repreſented in our cut No. 191. Two of the party remained long aſſociated

* The method of engraving called mezzotinto was very generally adopted in England in the earlier part of the last century for prints and caricatures. It was continued to rather a late period by the publishing house of Carrington Bowles.

aſſociated together in the popular outcry, and as the name of the third fell into contempt and oblivion, the doctor's place in this aſſociation was taken by a new cauſe of alarm, the Pretender, the child whom we have juſt ſeen ſo joyouſly brandiſhing his windmill. It is evident, however, that this caricature greatly exaſperated Sacheverell and the party which ſupported him.

It will have been noticed that the writer juſt quoted, in uſing the term "print," ignores altogether that of caricature, which, however, was about this time beginning to come into uſe, although it is not found in the dictionaries, I believe, until the appearance of that of Dr. Johnſon, in 1755. *Caricature* is, of courſe, an Italian word, derived from the verb *caricare*, to charge or load; and therefore, it means a picture which is charged, or exaggerated (the old French dictionaries ſay, "*c'eſt la même choſe que charge en peinture*"). The word appears not to have come into uſe in Italy until the latter half of the ſeventeenth century, and the earlieſt inſtance I know of its employment by an Engliſh writer is that quoted by Johnſon from the "Chriſtian Morals" of Sir Thomas Brown, who died in 1682, but it was one of his lateſt writings, and was not printed till long after his death:—"Expoſe not thyſelf by four-footed manners unto monſtrous draughts (*i.e.* drawings) and *caricatura* repreſentations." This very quaint writer, who had paſſed ſome time in Italy, evidently uſes it as an exotic word. We find it next employed by the writer of the Eſſay No. 537, of the "Spectator," who, ſpeaking of the way in which different people were led by feelings of jealouſy and prejudice to detract from the characters of others, goes on to ſay, "From all theſe hands we have ſuch draughts of mankind as are repreſented in thoſe burleſque pictures which the Italians call *caricaturas*, where the art conſiſts in preſerving, amidſt diſtorted proportions and aggravated features, ſome diſtinguiſhing likeneſs of the perſon, but in ſuch a manner as to transform the moſt agreeable beauty into the moſt odious monſter." The word was not fully eſtabliſhed in our language in its Engliſh form of *caricature* until late in the laſt century.

The ſubject of agitation which produced a greater number of caricatures than any previous event was the wild financial ſcheme introduced into

into France by the Scottiſh adventurer, Law, and imitated in England in the great South Sea Bubble. It would be impoſſible here, within our neceſſary limits, to attempt to trace the hiſtory of theſe bubbles, which all burſt in the courſe of the year 1720; and, in fact, it is a hiſtory of which few are ignorant. On this, as on former occaſions, the great maſs of the caricatures, eſpecially thoſe againſt the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, were executed in Holland, but they are much inferior to the works of Romain de Hooghe.

No. 192. *Atlas.*

In fact, ſo great was the demand for theſe caricatures, that the publiſhers, in their eagerneſs for gain, not only deluged the world with plates by artiſts of no talent, which were without point or intereſt, but they took old plates of any ſubject in which there was a multitude of figures, put new titles to them, and publiſhed them as ſatires on the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme; for people were ready to take anything which repreſented a crowd as a ſatire on the eagerneſs with which Frenchmen ruſhed into the ſhare-market.

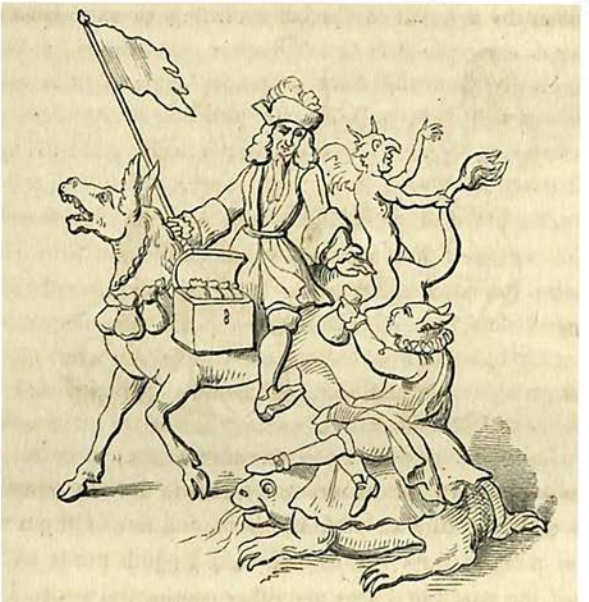
ſhare-market. One or two curious inſtances of this deception might be pointed out. Thus, an old picture, evidently intended to repreſent the meeting of a king and a nobleman, in the court of a palace, ſurrounded by a crowd of courtiers, in the coſtume probably of the time of Henri IV., was republiſhed as a picture of people crowding to the grand ſcene of ſtock-jobbing in Paris, the Rue Quinquenpoix; and the old picture of the battle between Carnival and Lent came out again, a little re-touched, under the Dutch title, "Stryd tuſzen de ſmullende Bubbel-Heeren en de aanſtaande Armoede," *i.e.*, "The battle between the good-living bubble-lords and approaching poverty."

Beſides being iſſued ſingly, a conſiderable number of theſe prints were collected and publiſhed in a volume, which is ſtill met with not unfrequently, under the title "Het groote Tafereel der Dwaaſheid," "The great picture of folly." One of this ſet of prints repreſents a multitude of perſons, of all ages and ſexes, acting the part of Atlas in ſupporting on their backs globes, which, though made only of paper, had become, through the agitation of the ſtock exchange, heavier than gold. Law himſelf (ſee our cut No. 192) ſtands foremoſt, and requires the aſſiſtance of Hercules to ſupport his enormous burthen. In the French verſes accompanying this print, the writer ſays—

Ami Atlas, on voit (ſans conter vous et moi)
Faire l'Atlas partout des divers perſonnages,
Riche, pauvre, homme, femme, et ſot et quaſi-ſage,
Valet, et paiſan, le gueux s'eleve en roi.

Another of theſe caricatures repreſents Law in the character of Don Quixote, riding upon Sancho's donkey. He is haſtening to his Dulcinia, who waits for him in the *actie huis* (action or ſhare-houſe), towards which people are dragging the animal on which he is seated. The devil (ſee our cut No. 193), ſits behind Law, and holds up the aſs's tail, while a ſhower of paper, in the form of ſhares in companies, is ſcattered around, and ſcrambled for by the eager *actionnaires*. In front, the animal is laden with the money into which this paper has been turned,—the box bears the inſcription, "*Bombarioos Geldkiſt*, 1720," "Bombario's (Law's) gold cheſt;" and the flag bears the inſcription, "*Ik koom, ik koom, Dul-*

cinia," "I come, I come, Dulcinia." The beſt, perhaps, of this lot of caricatures is a large engraving by the well-known Picart, inſerted among the Dutch collection with explanations in Dutch and French, and which was re-engraved in London, with Engliſh deſcriptions and applications.



No. 193. *The Don Quixote of Finance.*

It is a general ſatire on the madneſs of the memorable year 1720. Folly appears as the charioteer of Fortune, whoſe car is drawn by the repreſentatives of the numerous companies which had ſprung up at this time, moſt of which appear to be more or leſs unſound. Many of theſe agents have the tails of foxes, "to ſhow their policy and cunning," as the explanation informs us. The devil is ſeen in the clouds above, blowing bubbles of ſoap, which mix with the paper which Fortune is diſtributing to the crowd. The picture is crowded with figures, ſcattered in groups, who are employed in a variety of occupations connected with the great folly of the day, one of which, as an example, is given in our cut No. 194. It is a transfer of ſtock, made through the medium of a Jew broker.

It

It was in this bubble agitation that the Engliſh ſchool of caricature began, and a few ſpecimens are preſerved, though others which are advertiſed in the newſpapers of that day, ſeem to be entirely loſt. In fact, a very conſiderable portion of the caricature literature of a period ſo comparatively recent as the firſt half of the laſt century, appears to have periſhed;

No. 194. *Tranſfer of Stock.*

for the intereſt of theſe prints was in general ſo entirely temporary that few people took any care to preſerve them, and few of them were very attractive as pictures. As yet, indeed, theſe Engliſh prints are but poor imitations of the works of Picart and other continental artiſts. A pair of Engliſh prints, entitled "The Bubbler's Mirrour," repreſents, one a head joyful at the riſe in the value of ſtock, the other, a ſimilar head ſorrowful at its fall, ſurrounded in each caſe with liſts of companies and epigrams upon them. They are engraved in mezzotinto, a ſtyle of art ſuppoſed to have been invented in England—its invention was aſcribed to Prince Rupert—and at this time very popular. In the imprint of theſe laſt-mentioned plates, we are informed that they were "Printed for Carington Bowles, next y^e^ Chapter Houſe, in St. Paul's Ch. Yard, London," a well-known name in former years, and even now one quite familiar to collectors, of this claſs of prints, eſpecially. Of Carington Bowles we ſhall have more to ſay in the next chapter. With him begins the long liſt of celebrated Engliſh printſellers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ENGLISH CARICATURE IN THE AGE OF GEORGE II.—ENGLISH PRINT-SELLERS.—ARTISTS EMPLOYED BY THEM.—SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S LONG MINISTRY.—THE WAR WITH FRANCE.—THE NEWCASTLE ADMINISTRATION.—OPERA INTRIGUES.—ACCESSION OF GEORGE III., AND LORD BUTE IN POWER.

WITH the acceſſion of George II., the taſte for political caricatures increaſed greatly, and they had become almoſt a neceſſity of ſocial life. At this time, too, a diſtinct Engliſh ſchool of political caricature had been eſtabliſhed, and the print-ſellers became more numerous, and took a higher poſition in the commerce of literature and art. Among the earlieſt of theſe printſellers the name of Bowles ſtands eſpecially conſpicuous. Hogarth's burleſque on the Beggar's Opera, publiſhed in 1728, was "printed for John Bowles, at the Black Horſe, in Cornhill." Some copies of "King Henry the Eighth and Anna Bullen," engraved by the ſame great artiſt in the following year, bear the imprint of John Bowles; and others were "printed for Robert Wilkinſon, Cornhill, Carington Bowles, in St. Paul's Church Yard, and R. Sayer, in Fleet Street." Hogarth's "Humours of Southwark Fair" was alſo publiſhed, in 1733, by Carington and John Bowles. This Carington Bowles was, perhaps, dead in 1755, for in that year the caricature entitled "Britiſh Reſentment" bears the imprint, "Printed for T. Bowles, in St. Paul's Church Yard, and Jno. Bowles & Son, in Cornhill." John Bowles appears to have been the brother of the firſt Carington Bowles in St. Paul's Churchyard, and a ſon named Carington ſucceeded to that buſineſs, which, under him and his ſon Carington, and then as the eſtabliſhment of Bowles and Carver, has continued to exiſt within the memory of the preſent generation. Another very celebrated printſhop was eſtabliſhed in Fleet Street, by Thomas Overton,

Overton, probably as far back as the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century. On his death his buſineſs was purchaſed by Robert Sayers, a mezzotinto engraver of merit, whoſe name appears as joint publiſher of a print by Hogarth in 1729. Overton is ſaid to have been a perſonal friend of Hogarth. Sayers was ſucceeded in the buſineſs by his pupil in mezzotinto engraving, named Laurie, from whom it deſcended to his ſon, Robert H. Laurie, known in city politics, and it became ſubſequently the firm of Laurie and Whittle. This buſineſs ſtill exiſts at 53, Fleet Street, the oldeſt eſtabliſhment in London for the publication of maps and prints. During the reign of the ſecond George, the number of publiſhers of caricatures increaſed conſiderably, and among others, we meet with the names of J. Smith, "at Hogarth's Head, Cheapſide," attached to a caricature publiſhed Auguſt, 1756; Edwards and Darly, "at the Golden Acorn, facing Hungerford, Strand," who alſo publiſhed caricatures during the years 1756-7; caricatures and burleſque prints were publiſhed by G. Bickham, May's Buildings, Covent Garden, and one, directed againſt the employment of foreign troops, and entitled "A Nurſe for the Heſſians," is ſtated to have been "ſold in May's Buildings, Covent Garden, where is 50 more;" "The Raree Show," publiſhed in 1762, was "ſold at Sumpter's Political Print-ſhop, Fleet Street," and many caricatures on contemporary coſtume, eſpecially on the Macaronis, about the year 1772, were "publiſhed by T. Bowen, oppoſite the Haymarket, Piccadilly." Sledge, "printſeller, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden," is alſo met with about the middle of the laſt century. Among other burleſque prints, Bickham, of May's Buildings, iſſued a ſeries of figures repreſenting the various trades, made up of the different tools, &c., uſed by each. The houſe of Carington Bowles, in St. Paul's Churchyard, produced an immenſe number of caricatures, during the laſt century and the preſent, and of the moſt varied character, but they conſiſted more of comic ſcenes of ſociety than of political ſubjects, and many of them were engraved in mezzotinto, and rather highly coloured. Among them were caricatures on the faſhions and foibles of the day, amuſing accidents and incidents, common occurrences of life, characters, &c., and they are frequently aimed at lawyers and prieſts, and eſpecially at monks and friars,

friars, for the anti-Catholic feeling was ſtrong in the laſt century. J. Brotherton, at No. 132, New Bond Street, publiſhed many of Bunbury's caricatures; while the houſe of Laurie and Whittle gave employment eſpecially to the Cruikſhanks. But perhaps the moſt extenſive publiſher of caricatures of them all was S. W. Fores, who dwelt firſt at No. 3, Piccadilly, but afterwards eſtabliſhed himſelf at No. 50, the corner of Sackville Street, where the name ſtill remains. Fores ſeems to have been moſt fertile in ingenious expedients for the extenſion of his buſineſs. He formed a ſort of library of caricatures and other prints, and charged for admiſſion to look at them; and he afterwards adopted a ſyſtem of lending them out in portfolios for evening parties, at which theſe portfolios of caricatures became a very faſhionable amuſement in the latter part of the laſt century. At times, ſome remarkable curioſity was employed to add to the attractions of his ſhop. Thus, on caricatures publiſhed in 1790, we find the ſtatement that, "In Fores' Caricature Muſeum is the completeſt collection in the kingdom. Alſo *the head and hand of Count Struenzee.* Admittance, 1*s.*" Caricatures againſt the French revolutioniſts, publiſhed in 1793, bear imprints ſtating that they were "publiſhed by S. W. Fores, No. 3, Piccadilly, where may be ſeen *a complete Model of the Guillotine*—admittance, one ſhilling." In ſome this model is ſaid to be ſix feet high.

Among the artiſts employed by the print-publiſhers of the age of George II., we ſtill find a certain number of foreigners. Coypel, who caricatured the opera in the days of Farinelli, and pirated Hogarth, belonged to a diſtinguiſhed family of French painters. Goupy, who alſo caricatured the *artiſtes* of the opera (in 1727), and Boitard, who worked actively for Carington Bowles from 1750 to 1770, were alſo Frenchmen. Liotard, another caricaturiſt of the time of George II., was a native of Geneva. The names of two others, Vandergucht and Vanderbank, proclaim them Dutchmen. Among the Engliſh caricaturiſts who worked for the houſe of Bowles, were George Bickham, the brother of the printſeller, John Collet, and Robert Dighton, with others of leſs repute. R. Attwold, who publiſhed caricatures againſt admiral Byng in 1750, was an imitator of Hogarth. Among the more obſcure caricaturiſts of the latter

latter part of the half-century, were MacArdell—whoſe print of "The Park Shower," repreſenting the confuſion raiſed among the faſhionable company in the Mall in St. James's Park by a ſudden fall of rain, is ſo well known—and Darley. Paul Sandby, who was patroniſed by the duke of Cumberland, executed caricatures upon Hogarth. Many of theſe artiſts of the earlier period of the Engliſh ſchool of caricature appear to have been very ill paid—the firſt of the family of Bowles is ſaid to have boaſted that he bought many of the plates for little more than their value as metal. The growing taſte for caricature had alſo brought forward a number of amateurs, among whom were the counteſs of Burlington, and general, afterwards marquis, Townſhend. The former, who was the lady of that earl who built Burlington Houſe, in Piccadilly, was the leader of one of the factions in the opera diſputes at the cloſe of the reign of George I., and is underſtood to have deſigned the well-known caricature upon Cuzzoni, Farinelli, and Heidegger, which was etched by Goupy, whom ſhe patroniſed. It muſt not be forgotten that Bunbury himſelf, as well as Sayers, were amateurs; and among other amateurs I may name captain Minſhull, captain Baillie, and John Nixon. The firſt of theſe publiſhed caricatures againſt the Macaronis (as the dandies of the earlier part of the reign of George III. were called), one of which, entitled "The Macaroni Dreſſing-Room," was eſpecially popular.

Engliſh political caricature came into its full activity with the miniſtry of ſir Robert Walpole, which, beginning in 1721, laſted through the long period of twenty years. In the previous period the Whigs were accuſed of having invented caricature, but now the Tories certainly took the utmoſt advantage of the invention, for, during ſeveral years, the greater number of the caricatures which were publiſhed were aimed againſt the Whig miniſtry. It is alſo a rather remarkable characteriſtic of ſociety at this period, that the ladies took ſo great an intereſt in politics, that the caricatures were largely introduced upon fans, as well as upon other objects of an equally perſonal character. Moreover, the popular notion of what conſtituted a caricature was ſtill ſo little fixed, that they were uſually called *hieroglyphics*, a term, indeed, which was not ill applied, for they were ſo elaborate, and ſo filled with myſtical alluſions, that now it is by no

no means eaſy to underſtand or appreciate them. Towards the year 1739, there was a marked improvement in the political caricatures—they were better deſigned, and diſplayed more talent, but ſtill they required rather long deſcriptions to render them intelligible. One of the moſt celebrated was produced by the motion in the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 13, 1741, againſt the miniſter Walpole. It was entitled "The Motion," and was a Whig ſatire upon the oppoſition, who are repreſented

No. 195. *A Party of Mourners.*

as driving ſo hurriedly and inconſiderately to obtain places, that they are overthrown before they reach their object. The party of the oppoſition retaliated by a counter-caricature, entitled, "The Reaſon," which was in ſome reſpects a parody upon the other, to which it was inferior in point and ſpirit. At the ſame time appeared another caricature againſt the miniſtry, under the title of "The Motive." Theſe provoked another, entitled,

entitled, "A Conſequence of the Motion;" which was followed the day after its publication by another caricature upon the oppoſition, entitled, "The Political Libertines; or, Motion upon Motion;" while the opponents of the government alſo brought out a caricature, entitled, "The Grounds," a violent and rather groſs attack upon the Whigs. Among other caricatures publiſhed on this occaſion, one of the beſt was entitled, "The Funeral of Faction," and bears the date of March 26, 1741. Beneath it are the words, "Funerals performed by Squire S——s," alluding to Sandys, who was the motion-maker in the Houſe of Commons, and who thus brought on his party a ſignal defeat. Among the chief mourners on this occaſion are ſeen the oppoſition journals, *The Craftsman*, the creation of Bolingbroke and Pulteney, the ſtill more ſcurrilous

No. 196. *Britiſh Reſentment.*

Champion, The Daily Poſt, The London and Evening Poſt, and *The Common Senſe Journal.* This mournful group is reproduced in our cut No. 195.

From this time there was no falling off in the ſupply of caricatures, which, on the contrary, ſeemed to increaſe every year, until the activity of the pictorial ſatiriſts was rouſed anew by the hoſtilities with France in

1755, and the miniſterial intrigues of the two following years. The war, accepted by the Engliſh government reluctantly, and ill prepared for, was the ſubject of much diſcontent, although at firſt hopes were given of great ſucceſs. One of the caricatures, publiſhed in the middle of theſe early hopes, at a time when an Engliſh fleet lay before Louiſbourg, in Canada, is entitled, "Britiſh Reſentment, or the French fairly coop'd at Louiſbourg," and came from the pencil of the French artiſt Boitard. One of its groups, repreſenting the courageous Engliſh ſailor and the deſpairing Frenchman, is given in our cut No. 196, and may ſerve as an example of Boitard's ſtyle of drawing. It became now the faſhion to print political caricatures, in a diminiſhed form, on cards, and ſeventy-five of theſe were formed into a ſmall volume, under the title of "A Political and Satirical Hiſtory of the years 1756 and 1757. In a ſeries of ſeventy-

No. 197. *Britannia in a New Dreſs.*

five humorous and entertaining Prints, containing all the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, Characters, and Caricaturas of thoſe two memorable years. . . . London: printed for E. Morris, near St. Paul's." The imprints of the plates, which bear the dates of their ſeveral publications, inform us that they came from the well-known ſhop of "Darly and Edwards, at the Acorn, facing Hungerford, Strand." Theſe caricatures begin with our foreign relations, and expreſs the belief that the miniſters were ſacrificing Engliſh intereſts to French influence. In one of them (our

(our cut No. 197), entitled, "England made odious, or the French Dreſſers," the miniſter, Newcaſtle, in the garb of a woman, and his colleague, Fox, have dreſſed Britannia in a new French robe, which does not fit her. She exclaims, "Let me have my own cloathes. I cannot ſtir my arms in theſe; beſides, everybody laughs at me." Newcaſtle replies, rather imperiouſly, "Huſſy, be quiet, you have no need to ſtir your arms—why, ſure! what's here to do?" While Fox, in a more inſinuating tone, offers her a fleur-de-lis, and ſays, "Here, madam, ſtick

No. 198. Caught by a Bait.

this in your boſom, next your heart." The two pictures which adorn the walls of the room repreſent an axe and a halter; and underneath we read the lines,—

And ſhall the ſubſtitutes of power
Our genius thus bedeck?
Let them remember there's an hour
Of quittance—then, ware neck.

In another print of this ſeries, this laſt idea is illuſtrated more fully. It is aimed at the miniſters, who were believed to be enriching themſelves at the expenſe of the nation, and is entitled, "The Devil turned Bird-catcher." On one ſide, while Fox is greedily ſcrambling for the gold, the fiend has caught him in a halter ſuſpended to the gallows; on the other ſide another demon is letting down the fatal axe on Newcaſtle, who is ſimilarly employed. The latter (ſee our cut No. 198) is deſcribed as

as a "Noddy catching at the bait, while the bird-catcher lets drop an axe." This implement of execution is a perfect picture of a guillotine, long before it was ſo notoriouſly in uſe in France.

The third example of theſe caricatures which I ſhall quote is entitled "The Idol," and has for its ſubject the extravagancies and perſonal jealouſies connected with the Italian opera. The rivalry between Mingotti and Vanneſchi was now making as much noiſe there as that of Cuzzoni and

No. 199. Britiſh Idolatry

Fauſtina ſome years before. The former acted arbitrarily and capriciouſly, and could with difficulty be bound to ſing a few times during the ſeaſon for a high ſalary: it is ſaid, £2,000 for the ſeaſon. In the caricature to which I allude, this lady appears raiſed upon a ſtool, inſcribed "£2,000 per annum," and is receiving the worſhip of her admirers. Immediately before her an eccleſiaſtic is ſeen on his knees, exclaiming, "Unto thee be praiſe now and for evermore!" In the background a lady appears, holding up her pug-dog, then the faſhionable pet, and addreſſing the opera favourite, "'Tis only pug and you I love." Other men are on their knees behind the eccleſiaſtic, all perſons of diſtinction; and laſt comes a nobleman and his lady, the former holding in his hand an order for £2,000, his ſubſcription to the opera, and remarking, "We ſhall have but

twelve

twelve ſongs for all this money." The lady replies, with an air of contempt, "Well, and enough too, for the paltry trifle." The idol, in return for all this homage, ſings rather contemptuouſly—

Ra, ru, ra, rot ye,
My name is Mingotti,
If you worſhip me notti,
You ſhall all go to potti.

The cloſing years of the reign of George II., under the vigorous adminiſtration of the firſt William Pitt, witneſſed a calm in the domeſtic politics of the country, which preſented a ſtrange contraſt to the agitation of the previous period. Faction ſeemed to have hidden its head, and there was comparatively little employment for the caricaturiſt. But this calm laſted only a ſhort time after that king's death, and the new reign was uſhered in by indications of approaching political agitation of the moſt violent deſcription, in which ſatiriſts who had hitherto contented themſelves with other ſubjects were tempted to embark in the ſtrife of politics. Among theſe was Hogarth, whoſe diſcomforts as a political caricaturiſt we ſhall have to deſcribe in our next chapter.

No. 200 Fox on Boots.

Perhaps no name ever provoked a greater amount of caricature and ſatirical abuſe than that of Lord Bute, who, through the favour of the Princeſs of Wales, ruled ſupreme at court during the firſt period of the reign of George III. Bute had taken into the miniſtry, as his confidential colleague, Fox —the Henry Fox who became ſubſequently the firſt Lord Holland, a man who had enriched himſelf enormouſly with the money of the nation, and theſe two appeared to be aiming at the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power in the place of conſtitutional government. Fox was uſually repreſented in the

the caricatures with the head and tail of the animal repreſented by his name rather ſtrongly developed; while Bute was drawn, as a very bad pun upon his name, in the garb of a Scotchman, wearing two large boots, or ſometimes a ſingle boot of ſtill greater magnitude. In theſe caricatures Bute and Fox are generally coupled together. Thus, a little before the reſignation of the duke of Newcaſtle in 1762, there appeared a caricature entitled "The State Nurſery," in which the various members of the miniſtry, as it was then formed under Lord Bute's influence, are repreſented as engaged in childiſh games. Fox, as the whipper-in of parliamentary majorities, is riding, armed with his whip, on Bute's ſhoulders (ſee our cut No. 200), while the duke of Newcaſtle performs the more menial ſervice of rocking the cradle. In the rhymes which accompany this caricature, the firſt of theſe groups is deſcribed as follows (Fox was commonly ſpoken of in ſatire by the title of Volpone)—

Firſt you ſee old ſly Volpone-y,
Riding on the ſhoulders brawny
Of the muckle favourite Sawny;
Doodle, doodle, doo.

The number of caricatures publiſhed at this period was very great, and they were almoſt all aimed in one direction, againſt Bute and Fox, the Princeſs of Wales, and the government they directed. Caricature, at this time, ran into the leaſt diſguiſed licence, and the coarſeſt alluſions were made to the ſuppoſed ſecret intercourſe between the miniſter and the Princeſs of Wales, of which perhaps the moſt harmleſs was the addition of a petticoat to the boot, as a ſymbol of the influence under which the country was governed. In mock proceſſions and ceremonies a Scotchman was generally introduced carrying the ſtandard of the boot and petticoat. Lord Bute, frightened at the amount of odium which was thus heaped upon him, ſought to ſtem the torrent by employing ſatiriſts to defend the government, and it is hardly neceſſary to ſtate that among theſe mercenary auxiliaries was the great Hogarth himſelf, who accepted a penſion, and publiſhed his caricature entitled, "The Times, Nov. 1," in the month of September, 1762. Hogarth did not excel in political caricature, and there was little in this print to diſtinguiſh it above the

the ordinary publications of a ſimilar character. It was the moment of negotiations for Lord Bute's unpopular peace, and Hogarth's ſatire is directed againſt the foreign policy of the great ex-miniſter Pitt. It repreſents Europe in a ſtate of general conflagration, and the flames already communicating to Great Britain. While Pitt is blowing the fire, Bute, with a party of ſoldiers and ſailors zealouſly aſſiſted by his favourite Scotchmen, is labouring to extinguiſh it. In this he is impeded by the interference of the duke of Newcaſtle, who brings a wheelbarrow full of *Monitors* and *North Britons*, the violent oppoſition journals, to feed the

No. 201. *Fanaticiſm in another Shape.*

flames. The advocacy of Bute's mercenaries, whether literary or artiſtic, did little ſervice to the government, for they only provoked increaſed activity among its opponents. Hogarth's caricature of "The Times," drew ſeveral anſwers, one of the beſt of which was a large print entitled "The Raree Show: a political contraſt to the print of 'The Times,' by William Hogarth." It is the houſe of John Bull which is here on fire, and the Scots are dancing and exulting at it. In the centre of the picture appears a great actors' barn, from an upper window of which Fox thruſts out his head and points to the ſign, repreſenting Æneas and Dido entering

entering the cave together, as the performance which was acting within. It is an alluſion to the ſcandal in general circulation relating to Bute and the princeſs, who, of courſe, were the Æneas and Dido of the piece, and appear in thoſe characters on the ſcaffold in front, with two of Bute's mercenary writers, Smollett, who edited the *Briton*, and Murphy, who wrote in the *Auditor*, one blowing the trumpet and the other beating the drum. Among the different groups which fill the picture, one, behind the actors' barn (ſee our cut No. 201), is evidently intended for a ſatire on the ſpirit of religious fanaticiſm which was at this time ſpreading through the country. An open-air preacher, mounted on a ſtool, is addreſſing a not very intellectual-looking audience, while his inſpiration is conveyed to him in a rather vulgar manner by the ſpirit, not of good, but of evil.

The violence of this political warfare at length drove Lord Bute from at leaſt oſtenſible power. He reſigned on the 6th of April, 1763. One of the popular favourites at this time was the duke of Cumberland, the hero of Culloden, who was regarded as the leader of the oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords. People now believed that it was the duke of Cumberland who had overthrown "the boot," and his popularity increaſed on a ſudden. The triumph was commemorated in ſeveral caricatures. One of theſe is entitled, "The Jack-Boot kick'd down, or Engliſh Will triumphant: a Dream." The duke of Cumberland, whip in hand, has kicked the boot out of the houſe, exclaiming to a young man in ſailor's garb who follows him, "Let me alone, Ned; I know how to deal with Scotſmen. Remember Culloden." The youth replies, "Kick hard, uncle, keep him down. Let me have a kick too." Nearly the ſame group, uſing ſimilar language, is introduced into a caricature of the ſame date, entitled, "The Boot and the Blockhead." The youthful perſonage is no doubt intended for Cumberland's nephew, Edward, duke of York, who was a ſailor, and was raiſed to the rank of rear-admiral, and who appears to have joined his uncle in his oppoſition to Lord Bute. The "boot," as ſeen in our cut No. 202, is encircled with Hogarth's celebrated "line of beauty," of which I ſhall have to ſpeak more at length in the next chapter.

With

With the overthrow of Bute's miniſtry, we may conſider the Engliſh ſchool of caricature as completely formed and fully eſtabliſhed. From this time the names of the caricaturiſts are better known, and we ſhall

No. 202. The Overthrow of the Boot.

have to conſider them in their individual characters. One of theſe, William Hogarth, had riſen in fame far above the group of the ordinary men by whom he was ſurrounded.

CHAPTER XXV.

HOGARTH.—HIS EARLY HISTORY.—HIS SETS OF PICTURES.—THE HARLOT'S PROGRESS.—THE RAKE'S PROGRESS.—THE MARRIAGE A LA MODE.—HIS OTHER PRINTS.—THE ANALYSIS OF BEAUTY, AND THE PERSECUTION ARISING OUT OF IT.—HIS PATRONAGE BY LORD BUTE.—CARICATURE OF THE TIMES.—ATTACKS TO WHICH HE WAS EXPOSED BY IT, AND WHICH HASTENED HIS DEATH.

ON the 10th of November, 1697, William Hogarth was born in the city of London. His father, Richard Hogarth, was a London ſchoolmaſter, who laboured to increaſe the income derived from his ſcholars by compiling books, but with no great ſucceſs. From his childhood, as he tells us in his "Anecdotes" of himſelf, the young Hogarth diſplayed a taſte for drawing, and eſpecially for caricature; and, out of ſchool, he appears to have been ſeldom without a pencil in his hand. The limited means of Richard Hogarth compelled him to take the boy from ſchool at an early age, and bind him apprentice to a ſteel-plate engraver. But this occupation proved little to the taſte of one whoſe ambition roſe much higher; and when the term of his apprenticeſhip had expired, he applied himſelf to engraving on copper; and, ſetting up on his own account, did conſiderable amount of work, firſt in engraving arms and ſhop-bills, and afterwards in deſigning and engraving book illuſtrations, none of which diſplayed any ſuperiority over the ordinary run of ſuch productions. Towards 1728 Hogarth began to practiſe as a painter, and he ſubſequently attended the academy of ſir James Thornhill, in Covent Garden, where he became acquainted with that painter's only daughter, Jane. The reſult was a clandeſtine marriage in 1730, which met the diſapproval and provoked the anger of the lady's father. Subſequently, however, ſir James became convinced of the genius of his ſon-in-law, and a reconciliation was effected through the medium of lady Thornhill.

At

At this time Hogarth had already commenced that new ſtyle of deſign which was deſtined to raiſe him ſoon to a degree of fame as an artiſt few men have ever attained. In his "Anecdotes" of himſelf, the painter has given us an intereſting account of the motives by which he was guided. "The reaſons," he ſays, "which induced me to adopt this mode of deſigning were, that I thought both writers and painters had, in the hiſtorical ſtyle, totally overlooked that intermediate ſpecies of ſubjects which may be placed between the ſublime and the groteſque. I therefore wiſhed to compoſe pictures on canvas ſimilar to repreſentations on the ſtage; and further hope that they will be tried by the ſame teſt, and criticiſed by the ſame criterion. Let it be obſerved, that I mean to ſpeak only of thoſe ſcenes where the human ſpecies are actors, and theſe, I think, have not often been delineated in a way of which they are worthy and capable. In theſe compoſitions, thoſe ſubjects that will both entertain and improve the mind bid fair to be of the greateſt public utility, and muſt therefore be entitled to rank in the higheſt claſs. If the execution is difficult (though that is but a ſecondary merit), the author has claim to a higher degree of praiſe. If this be admitted, comedy, in painting as well as writing, ought to be allotted the firſt place, though *the ſublime*, as it is called, has been oppoſed to it. Ocular demonſtration will carry more conviction to the mind of a ſenſible man than all he would find in a thouſand volumes, and this has been attempted in the prints I have compoſed. Let the deciſion be left to every unprejudiced eye; let the figures in either pictures or prints be conſidered as players dreſſed either for the ſublime, for genteel comedy or farce, for high or low life. I have endeavoured to treat my ſubjects as a dramatic writer: my picture is my ſtage, and men and women my players, who, by means of certain actions and geſtures, are to exhibit *a dumb-ſhow*."

The great ſeries of pictures, indeed, which form the principal foundation of Hogarth's fame, are comedies rather than caricatures, and noble comedies they are. Like comedies, they are arranged, by a ſeries of ſucceſſive plates, in acts and ſcenes; and they repreſent contemporary ſociety pictorially, juſt as it had been and was repreſented on the ſtage in Engliſh comedy. It is not by delicacy or excellence of drawing that Hogarth excels,

excels, for he often draws incorrectly; but it is by his extraordinary and minute delineation of character, and by his wonderful ſkill in telling a ſtory thoroughly. In each of his plates we ſee a whole act of a play, in which nothing is loſt, nothing gloſſed over, and, I may add, nothing exaggerated. The moſt trifling object introduced into the picture is made to have ſuch an intimate relationſhip with the whole, that it ſeems as if it would be imperfect without it. The art of producing this effect was that in which Hogarth excelled. The firſt of Hogarth's great *ſuites* of prints was "The Harlot's Progreſs," which was the work of the years 1733 and 1734. It tells a ſtory which was then common in London, and was acted more openly in the broad face of ſociety than at the preſent day; and therefore the effect and conſequent ſucceſs were almoſt inſtantaneous. It had novelty, as well as excellence, to recommend it. This ſeries of plates was followed, in 1735, by another, under the title of "The Rake's Progreſs." In the former, Hogarth depicted the ſhame and ruin which attended a life of proſtitution; in this, he repreſented the ſimilar conſequences which a life of profligacy entailed on the other ſex. In many reſpects it is ſuperior to the "Harlot's Progreſs," and its details come more home to the feelings of people in general, becauſe thoſe of the proſtitute's hiſtory are more veiled from the public gaze. The progreſs of the ſpendthrift in diſſipation and riot, from the moment he becomes poſſeſſed of the fruits of paternal avarice, until his career ends in priſon and madneſs, forms a marvellous drama, in which every incident preſents itſelf, and every agent performs his part, ſo naturally, that it ſeems almoſt beyond the power of acting. Perhaps no one ever pictured deſpair with greater perfection than it is ſhown in the face and bearing of the unhappy hero of this hiſtory, in the laſt plate but one of the ſeries, where, thrown into priſon for debt, he receives from the manager of a theatre the announcement that the play which he had written in the hope of retrieving ſomewhat of his poſition—his laſt reſource—has been refuſed. The returned manuſcript and the manager's letter lie on the wretched table (cut No. 203); while on the one ſide his wife reproaches him heartleſſly with the deprivations and ſufferings which he has brought upon her, and on the other the jailer is reminding him of the fact that the

the fees exacted for the ſlight indulgence he has obtained in priſon are unpaid, and even the pot-boy refuſes to deliver him his beer without firſt receiving his money. It is but a ſtep further to Bedlam, which, in the next plate, cloſes his unbleſſed career.

Ten years almoſt from this time had paſſed away before Hogarth gave

No. 203. Deſpair.

to the world his next grand ſeries of what he called his "modern moral ſubjects." This was "The Marriage *à la mode*," which was publiſhed in ſix plates in 1745, and which fully ſuſtained the reputation built upon the "Harlot's Progreſs" and the "Rake's Progreſs." Perhaps the beſt plate of the "Marriage *à la mode*," is the fourth—the muſic ſcene—in which one principal group of figures eſpecially arreſts the attention. It is repreſented in our cut No. 204. William Hazlitt has juſtly remarked upon it that, "the prepoſterous, overſtrained admiration of the lady of quality; the ſentimental, inſipid, patient delight of the man with his hair in papers, and ſipping his tea; the pert, ſmirking, conceited, half-diſtorted approbation of the figure next to him; the tranſition to the total inſenſibility of the round face in profile, and then to the wonder of the negro boy at the rapture of his miſtreſs, form a perfect whole."

In

In the interval between theſe three great monuments of his talent, Hogarth had publiſhed various other plates, belonging to much the ſame

No. 204. *Faſhionable Society.*

claſs of ſubjects, and diſplaying different degrees of excellence. His engraving of "Southwark Fair," publiſhed in 1733, which immediately

No. 205. *An Old Maid and her Page.*

preceded the "Harlot's Progreſs," may be regarded almoſt as an attempt to rival the fairs of Callot. "The Midnight Modern Converſation" appeared

appeared in the interval between the "Harlot's Progreſs" and the "Rake's Progreſs;" and three years after the ſeries laſt mentioned, in 1738, the engraving, remarkable equally in deſign and execution, of the "Strolling Actreſſes in a Barn," and the four plates of "Morning," "Noon," "Evening," and "Night," all full of choiceſt bits of humour. Such is the group of the old maid and her footboy in the firſt of this ſeries (cut No. 205)—the former ſtiff and prudiſh, whoſe religion is evidently not that of charity; while the latter crawls after, ſhrinking at the ſame time under the effects of cold and hunger, which he ſuſtains in conſequence of the hard, niggardly temper of his miſtreſs. Among

No. 206. Loſs and Gain.

the humorous events which fill the plate of "Noon," we may point to the diſaſter of the boy who has been ſent to the baker's to fetch home the family dinner, and who, as repreſented in our cut No. 206, has brokeh his pie-diſh, and ſpilt its contents on the ground; and it is difficult to ſay which is expreſſed with moſt fidelity to nature—the terror and ſhame of the unfortunate lad, or the feeling of enjoyment in the face of the little girl who is feaſting on the fragments of the ſcattered meal. In 1741 appeared the plate of "The Enraged Muſician." During this period Hogarth appears to have been heſitating between two ſubjects for his third grand pictorial drama. Some unfiniſhed ſketches have been found,

from

from which it would ſeem that, after depicting the miſeries of a life of diſſipation in either ſex, he intended to repreſent the domeſtic happineſs which reſulted from a prudent and well-aſſorted marriage; but for ſome reaſon or other he abandoned this deſign, and gave the picture of wedlock in a leſs amiable light, in his "Marriage *à la mode*." The title was probably taken from that of Dryden's comedy. In 1750 appeared "The March to Finchley," in many reſpects one of Hogarth's beſt works. It is a ſtriking expoſure of the want of diſcipline, and the low *morale* of the Engliſh army under George II. Many amuſing groups fill this picture, the ſcene of which is laid in Tottenham Court Road, along which the guards are ſuppoſed to be marching to encamp at Finchley, in conſequence

No. 207. A brave Soldier.

of rumours of the approach of the Pretender's army in the Rebellion of '45. The ſoldiers in front are moving on with ſome degree of order, but in the rear we ſee nothing but confuſion, ſome reeling about under the effects of liquor, and confounded by the cries of women and children, camp-followers, ballad-ſingers, plunderers, and the like. One of the latter, as repreſented in our cut No. 207, is aſſiſting a fallen ſoldier with an additional doſe of liquor, while his pilfering propenſities are betrayed by the hen ſcreaming from his wallet, and by the chickens following diſtractedly the cries of their parent.

Hogarth preſents a ſingular example of a ſatiriſt who ſuffered under the

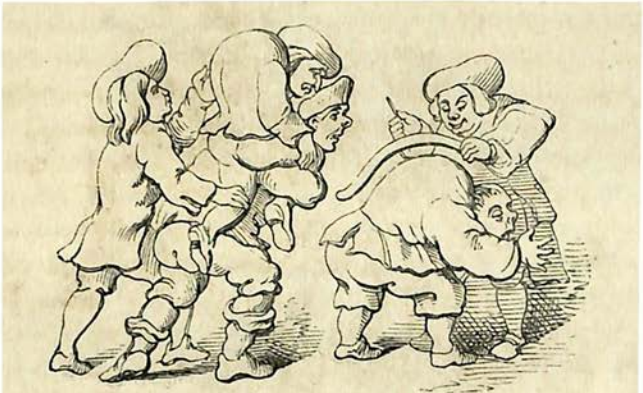
the very puniſhment which he inflicted on others. He made many perſonal enemies in the courſe of his labours. He had begun his career with a well-known perſonal ſatire, entitled "The Man of Taſte," which was a caricature on Pope, and the poet is ſaid never to have forgiven it. Although the ſatire in his more celebrated works appears to us general, it told upon his contemporaries perſonally; for the figures which act their parts in them were ſo many portraits of individuals who moved in contemporary ſociety, and who were known to everybody, and thus he provoked a hoſt of enemies. It was like Foote's mimicry. He was to an extraordinary degree vain of his own talent, and jealous of that of others in the ſame profeſſion; and he ſpoke in terms of undiſguiſed contempt of almoſt all artiſts, paſt or preſent. Thus, the painter introduced into the print of "Beer Street," is ſaid to be a caricature upon John Stephen Liotard, one of the artiſts mentioned in the laſt chapter. He thus provoked the hoſtility of the greateſt part of his contemporaries in his own profeſſion, and in the ſequel had to ſupport the full weight of their anger. When George II., who had more taſte for ſoldiers than pictures, ſaw the painting of the "March to Finchley," inſtead of admiring it as a work of art, he is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf with anger at the inſult which he believed was offered to his army; and Hogarth not only revenged himſelf by dedicating his print to the king of Pruſſia, by which it did become a ſatire on the Britiſh army, but he threw himſelf into the faction of the prince of Wales at Leiceſter Houſe. The firſt occaſion for the diſplay of all theſe animoſities was given in the year 1753, at the cloſe of which he publiſhed his "Analyſis of Beauty." Though far from being himſelf a ſucceſsful painter of beauty, Hogarth undertook in this work to inveſtigate its principles, which he referred to a waving or ſerpentine line, and this he termed the "line of beauty." In 1745 Hogarth had publiſhed his own portrait as the frontiſpiece to a volume of his collected works, and in one corner of the plate he introduced a painter's palette, on which was this waving line, inſcribed "The line of beauty." For ſeveral years the meaning of this remained either quite a myſtery, or was only known to a few of Hogarth's acquaintances, until the appearance of the book juſt mentioned. Hogarth's manuſcript was

reviſed by his friend, Dr. Morell, the compiler of the "Theſaurus," whoſe name became thus aſſociated with the book. This work expoſed its author to a hoſt of violent attacks, and to unbounded ridicule, eſpecially from the whole tribe of offended artiſts. A great number of caricatures upon Hogarth and his line of beauty appeared during the year 1754, which ſhow the bitterneſs of the hatred he had provoked; and to hold ſtill further their terror over his head, moſt of them are inſcribed with the words, "To be continued." Among the artiſts who eſpecially

No. 208. *A Painter's Amuſements.*

ſignaliſed themſelves by their zeal againſt him, was Paul Sandby, to whom we owe ſome of the beſt of theſe anti-Hogarthian caricatures. One of theſe is entitled, "A New Dunciad, done with a view of [fixing] the fluctuating ideas of taſte." In the principal group (which is given in our cut No. 208), Hogarth is repreſented playing with a *pantin*, or figure which was moved into activity by pulling a ſtring. The ſtring takes ſomewhat the form of the line of beauty, which is alſo drawn upon his palette. This figure is deſcribed underneath the picture as "a painter at

at the proper exerciſe of his taſte." To his breaſt is attached a card (the knave of hearts), which is deſcribed by a very bad pun as "the fool of arts." On one ſide "his genius" is repreſented in the form of a black harlequin; while behind appears a rather jolly perſonage (intended, perhaps, for Dr. Morell), who, we are told, is one of his admirers. On the table are the foundations, or the remains, of "a houſe of cards." Near him is Hogarth's favourite dog, named Trump, which always accompanies him in theſe caricatures. Another caricature which appeared at this time repreſents Hogarth on the ſtage as a quack doctor, holding in his hand the line of beauty, and recommending its extraordinary qualities. This



No. 209. The Line of Beauty exemplified.

print is entitled "A Mountebank Painter demonſtrating to his admirers and ſubſcribers that crookedneſs is y° moſt beautifull." Lord Bute, whoſe patronage at Leiceſter Houſe Hogarth now enjoyed, is repreſented fiddling, and the black harlequin ſerves as "his puff." In the front a crowd of deformed and hump-backed people are preſſing forwards (ſee our cut No. 209), and the line of beauty fits them all admirably.

Much as this famous line of beauty was ridiculed, Hogarth was not allowed to retain the ſmall honour which ſeemed to ariſe from it undiſputed. It was ſaid that he had ſtolen the idea from an Italian writer named Lomazzo, Latiniſed into Lomatius, who had enounced it in a treatiſe

treatiſe on the Fine Arts, publiſhed in the ſixteenth century.* In another caricature by Paul Sandby, with a vulgar title which I will not repeat, Hogarth is viſited, in the midſt of his glory, by the ghoſt of Lomazzo, carrying in one hand his treatiſe on the arts, and with his other holding up to view the line of beauty itſelf. In the inſcriptions on the plate, the principal figure is deſcribed as "An author ſinking under the

No. 210. *Piracy Expoſed.*

weight of his ſaturnine analyſis;" and, indeed, Hogarth's terror is broadly painted, while the volume of his analyſis is reſting heavily upon "a ſtrong ſupport bent in the line of beauty by the mighty load upon it." Beſide Hogarth ſtands "his faithful pug," and behind him "a friend of the author endeavouring to prevent his ſinking to his natural lowneſs." On the

* It was translated into English by Richard Haydocke, under the title of "The Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge, Buildinge," fol. 1598. This is one of the earliest works on art in the English language.

the other ſide ſtands Dr. Morell, or, perhaps, Mr. Townley, the maſter of Merchant Taylors' School, who continued his ſervice in preparing the book for the preſs after Morell's death, deſcribed as "the author's friend and corrector," aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the ghoſt. The ugly figure on the left hand of the picture is described as "Deformity weeping at the condition of her darling ſon," while the dog is "a greyhound bemoaning his friend's condition." This group is repreſented in our cut No. 210. The other caricatures which appeared at this time were two numerous to allow us to give a particular deſcription of them. The artiſt is uſually repreſented, under the influence of his line of beauty, painting ugly pictures from deformed models, or attempting hiſtorical pictures in a ſtyle bordering on caricature, or, on one occaſion, as locked up in a mad-houſe, and allowed only to exerciſe his ſkill upon the bare walls. One of theſe caricatures is entitled, in alluſion to the title of one of his moſt popular prints, "The Painter's March through Finchley, dedicated to the king of the gipſies, as an encourager of arts, &c." Hogarth appears in full flight through the village, cloſely purſued by women and children, and animals in great variety, and defended only by his favourite dog.

With the "Marriage *à la mode*," Hogarth may be conſidered as having reached his higheſt point of excellence. The ſet of "Induſtry and Idleneſs" tells a good and uſeful moral ſtory, but diſplays inferior talent in deſign. "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" diſguſt us by their vulgarity, and the "Four Stages of Cruelty" are equally repulſive to our feelings by the unveiled horrors of the ſcenes which are too coarſely depicted in them. In the four prints of the proceedings at an election, which are the laſt of his pictures of this deſcription, publiſhed in 1754, Hogarth riſes again, and approaches in ſome degree to his former elevation.

In 1757, on the death of his brother-in-law, John Thornhill, the office of ſergeant-painter of all his Majeſty's works became vacant, and it was beſtowed upon Hogarth, who, according to his own account, received from it an income of about £200 a-year. This appointment cauſed another diſplay of hoſtility towards him, and his enemies called him jeeringly the king's chief panel painter. It was at this moment that a plan for the eſtabliſhment of an academy of the fine arts was agitated, which,

which, a few years later, came into exiſtence under the title of the Royal Academy, and Hogarth proclaimed ſo loud an oppoſition to this project, that the old cry was raiſed anew, that he was jealous and envious of all his profeſſion, and that he ſought to ſtand alone as ſuperior to them all. It was the ſignal for a new onſlaught of caricatures upon himſelf and his line of beauty. Hitherto his aſſailants had been found chiefly among the artiſts, but the time was now approaching when he was deſtined to thruſt himſelf into the midſt of a political ſtruggle, where the attacks of a new claſs of enemies carried with them a more bitter ſting.

George II. died on the 17th of October, 1760, and his grandſon ſucceeded him to the throne as George III. It appears evident that before this time Hogarth had gained the favour of lord Bute, who, by his intereſt with the princeſs of Wales, was all-powerful in the houſehold of the young prince. The painter had hitherto kept tolerably clear of politics in his prints, but now, unluckily for himſelf, he ſuddenly ruſhed into the arena of political caricature. It was generally ſaid that Hogarth's object was, by diſplaying his zeal in the cauſe of his patron, lord Bute, to obtain an increaſe in his penſion; and he acknowledges himſelf that his object was gain. "This," he ſays, "being a period when war abroad and contention at home engroſſed every one's mind, prints were thrown into the background; and the ſtagnation rendered it neceſſary that I ſhould do ſome *timed thing* [the italics are Hogarth's] to recover my loſt time, and ſtop a gap in my income." Accordingly he determined to attack the great miniſter, Pitt, who had then recently been compelled to reſign his office, and had gone over to the oppoſition. It is ſaid that John Wilkes, who had previouſly been Hogarth's friend, having been privately informed of his deſign, went to the painter, expoſtulated with him, and, as he continued obſtinate, threatened him with retaliation. In September, 1762, appeared the print entitled "The Times, No. 1," indicating that it was to be followed by a ſecond caricature. The principal features of the picture are theſe: Europe is repreſented in flames, which are communicating to Great Britain, but lord Bute, with ſoldiers and ſailors, and the aſſiſtance of Highlanders, is labouring to extinguiſh them, while Pitt is blowing the fire, and the duke of Newcaſtle brings a barrowful of

Monitor

Monitors and *North Britons*, the violent journals of the popular party, to feed it. There is much detail in the print which it is not neceſſary to deſcribe. In fulfilment of his threat, Wilkes, in the number of the *North Briton* publiſhed on the Saturday immediately following the publication of this print, attacked Hogarth with extraordinary bitterneſs, caſting cruel reflections upon his domeſtic as well as his profeſſional character. Hogarth, ſtung to the quick, retaliated by publiſhing the well-known caricature of Wilkes. Thereupon Churchill, the poet, Wilkes's friend, and formerly the friend of Hogarth alſo, publiſhed a bitter invective

No. 211. An Independent Draughtſman.

in verſe againſt the painter, under the title of an "Epiſtle to William Hogarth." Hogarth retaliated again: "Having an old plate by me," he tells us, "with ſome parts ready, ſuch as a background and a dog, I began to conſider how I could turn ſo much work laid aſide to ſome account, ſo patched up a print of Maſter Churchill in the character of a bear." The unfiniſhed picture was intended to be a portrait of Hogarth himſelf; the canonical bear, which repreſented Churchill, held a pot of porter

porter in one hand, and in the other a knotted club, each knot labelled "lie 1," "lie 2," &c. The painter, in his "Anecdotes," exults over the pecuniary profit he derived from the extenſive ſale of theſe two prints.

The virulence of the caricaturiſts againſt Hogarth became on this occaſion greater than ever. Parodies on his own works, ſneers at his perſonal appearance and manners, reflections upon his character, were all embodied in prints which bore ſuch names as Hogg-aſs, Hoggart, O'Garth, &c. Our cut No. 211 repreſents one of the caricature portraits of the artiſt. It is entitled "Wm. Hogarth, Eſq., drawn from the Life." Hogarth wears the thiſtle on his hat, as the ſign of his dependence on lord Bute. At his breaſt hangs his palette, with the line of beauty inſcribed upon it. He holds behind his back a roll of paper inſcribed "Burleſque on L—d B—t." In his right hand he preſents to view two pictures, "The Times," and the "Portrait of Wilkes." At the upper corner to the left is the figure of Bute, offering him in a bag a penſion of "£300 per ann." Some of the alluſions in this picture are now obſcure, but they no doubt relate to anecdotes well known at the time. They receive ſome light from the following mock letters which are written at the foot of the plate:—

"*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hog-garth to Lord Mucklemen, with his Lordſhip's Anſwer.*

"My Lord,—The enclosed is a design I intend to publish; you are sensible it will not redound to your honour, as it will expose you to all the world in your proper colours. You likewise know what induced me to do this; but it is in y^r^ power to prevent it from appearing in publick, which I would have you do immediately.

"WILL^M^ HOG-GARTH.

"Mais^r^ Hog-garth,—By my saul, mon, I am sare troobled for what I have done; I did na ken y^r^ muckle merit till noow; say na mair aboot it; I'll mak au things easy to you, & gie you bock your Pension.

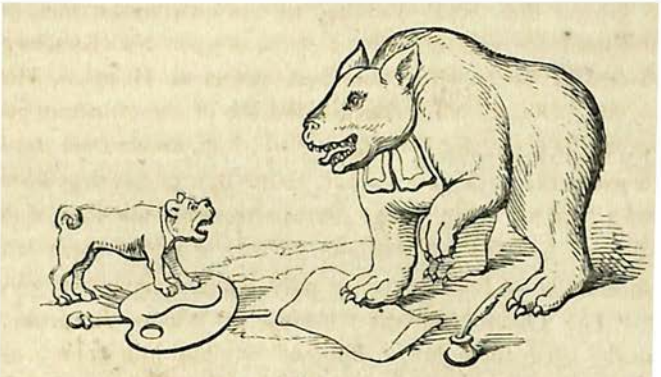
"SAWNEY MUCKLEMON."

In an etching without a title, publiſhed at this time, and copied in our cut No. 212, the Hogarthian dog is repreſented barking from a cautious diſtance at the canonical bear, who appears to be meditating further miſchief. Pugg ſtands upon his maſter's palette and the line of beauty, while Bruin reſts upon the "Epiſtle to Wm. Hogarth," with the

pen

pen and ink by its ſide. On the left, behind the dog, is a large frame, with the words "Pannel Painting" inſcribed upon it.

The article by Wilkes in the *North Briton*, and Churchill's metrical epiſtle, irritated Hogarth more than all the hoſtile caricatures, and were



No. 212. Beauty and the Bear.

generally believed to have broken his heart. He died on the 26th of October, 1764, little more than a year after the appearance of the attack by Wilkes, and with the taunts of his political as well as his profeſſional enemies ſtill ringing in his ears.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LESSER CARICATURISTS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—PAUL SANDBY.—COLLET; THE DISASTER, AND FATHER PAUL IN HIS CUPS.—JAMES SAYER; HIS CARICATURES IN SUPPORT OF PITT, AND HIS REWARD.—CARLO KHAN'S TRIUMPH.—BUNBURY; HIS CARICATURES ON HORSEMANSHIP.—WOODWARD; GENERAL COMPLAINT.—ROWLANDSON'S INFLUENCE ON THE STYLE OF THOSE WHOSE DESIGNS HE ETCHED.—JOHN KAY OF EDINBURGH': LOOKING A ROCK IN THE FACE.

THE ſchool of caricature which had grown amid the political agitation of the reigns of the two firſt Georges, gave birth to a number of men of greater talent in the ſame branch of art, who carried it to its higheſt degree of perfection during that of George III. Among them are the three great names of Gillray, Rowlandſon, and Cruikſhank, and a few who, though ſecond in rank to theſe, are ſtill well remembered for the talent diſplayed in their works, or with the effect they produced on contemporaries. Among theſe the principal were Paul Sandby, John Collet, Sayer, Bunbury, and Woodward.

Sandby has been ſpoken of in the laſt chapter. He was not by profeſſion a caricaturiſt, but he was one of thoſe riſing artiſts who were offended by the ſneering terms in which Hogarth ſpoke of all artiſts but himſelf, and he was foremoſt among thoſe who turned their ſatire againſt him. Examples of his caricatures upon Hogarth have already been given, ſufficient to ſhow that they diſplay ſkill in compoſition as well as a large amount of wit and humour. After his death, they were republiſhed collectively, under the title, "Retroſpective Art, from the Collection of the late Paul Sandby, Eſq., R.A." Sandby was, indeed, one of the original members of the Royal Academy. He was an artiſt much

much admired in his time, but is now chiefly remembered as a topographical draughtſman. He was a native of Nottingham, where he was born in 1725,* and he died on the 7th of November, 1809.†

John Collet, who alſo has been mentioned in a previous chapter, was born in London in 1725, and died there in 1780. Collet is ſaid to have been a pupil of Hogarth, and there is a large amount of Hogarthian character in all his deſigns. Few artiſts have been more induſtrious and

No. 213. *A Diſaſter.*

produced a greater number of engravings. He worked chiefly for Carrington Bowles, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and for Robert Sayers, at 53, Fleet Street. His prints publiſhed by Bowles were engraved generally in mezzotinto,

* His death is usually placed, but erroneously, in 1732.

† Sandby etched landscapes on steel, and in aquatinta, the latter by a method peculiarly his own, besides painting in oil and opaque colours. But his fame rests *mainly* on being the founder of the English school of *water-colour painting*, since he was the first to show the capability of that material to produce finished pictures, and to lead the way to the perfection in effect and colour to which that branch of art has since attained.

mezzotinto, and highly coloured for ſale; while thoſe publiſhed by Sayers were uſually line engravings, and ſometimes remarkably well executed. Collet choſe for his field of labour that to which Hogarth had given the title of comedy in art, but he did not poſſeſs Hogarth's power of delineating whole acts and ſcenes in one picture, and he contented himſelf with bits of detail and groups of characters only. His caricatures are rarely political—they are aimed at ſocial manners and ſocial vanities and weakneſſes, and altogether they form a ſingularly curious picture of ſociety during an important period of the laſt century. The firſt example I give (No. 213) is taken from a line engraving, publiſhed by Sayers in 1776. At this time the natural adornments of the perſon in both ſexes had ſo far yielded to artificial ornament, that even women cut off their own hair in order to replace it by an ornamental *peruque*, ſupporting a head-dreſs, which varied from time to time in form and in extravagance. Collet has here introduced to us a lady who, encountering a ſudden and violent wind, has loſt all her upper coverings, and wig, cap, and hat are caught by her footman behind. The lady is evidently ſuffering under the feeling of ſhame; and hard by, a cottager and his wife, at their door, are laughing at her diſcomfiture. A bill fixed againſt a neighbouring wall announces "A Lecture upon Heads."

At this time the "no-popery" feeling ran very high. Four years afterwards it broke out violently in the celebrated lord Gordon riots. It was this feeling which contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of Sheridan's comedy of "The Duenna," brought out in 1775. Collet drew ſeveral pictures founded upon ſcenes in this play, one of which is given in our cut No. 214. It forms one of Carington Bowles's rather numerous ſeries of prints from deſigns by Collet, and repreſents the well-known drinking ſcene in the convent, in the fifth ſcene of the third act of "The Duenna." The ſcene, it will be remembered, is "a room in the priory," and the excited monks are toaſting, among other objects of devotion, the abbeſs of St. Urſuline and the blue-eyed nun of St. Catherine's. The "blue-eyed nun" is, perhaps, the lady ſeen through the window, and the patron ſaint of her convent is repreſented in one of the pictures on the wall. There is great ſpirit in this picture, which is entitled "Father Paul in his Cups

Cups, or the Private Devotions of a Convent." It is accompanied with the following lines:—

See with theſe friars how religion thrives,
Who love good living better than good lives;
Paul, the ſuperior father, rules the roaſt,
His god 's the glaſs, the blue-eyed nun his toaſt,
Thus prieſts conſume what fearful fools beſtow,
And ſaints' donations make the bumpers flow.
The butler ſleeps—the cellar door is free—
This is a modern cloiſter's piety.

From Collet to Sayer we ruſh into the heat—I may ſay into the bitterneſs—of politics, for James Sayer is known, with very trifling ex-

No. 214. *Father Paul in his Cups.*

ceptions, as a political caricaturiſt. He was the ſon of a captain of a merchant ſhip at Great Yarmouth, but was himſelf put to the profeſſion of an attorney. As, however, he was poſſeſſed of a moderate independence, and appears to have had no great taſte for the law, he neglected his buſineſs, and, with conſiderable talent for ſatire and caricature, he threw himſelf into the political ſtrife of the day. Sayer was a bad draughtſman,

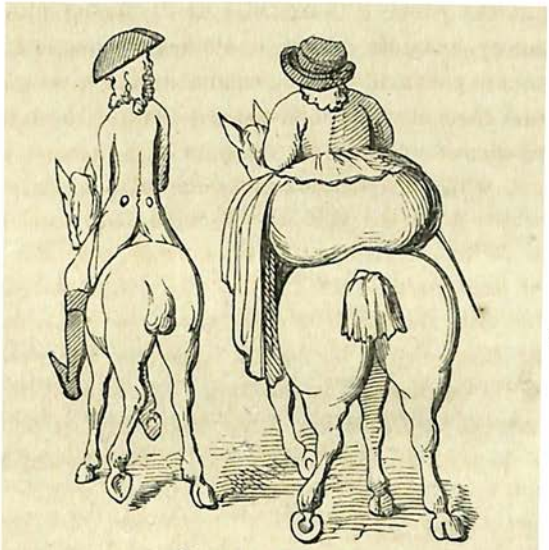
draughtſman, and his pictures are produced more by labour than by ſkill in drawing, but they poſſeſs a conſiderable amount of humour, and were ſufficiently ſevere to obtain popularity at a time when this latter character excuſed worſe drawing even than that of Sayer. He made the acquaintance and gained the favour of the younger William Pitt, when that ſtateſman was aſpiring to power, and he began his career as a caricaturiſt by attacking the Rockingham miniſtry in 1782—of courſe in the intereſt of Pitt. Sayer's earlieſt productions which are now known, are a ſeries of caricature portraits of the Rockingham adminiſtration, that appear to have been given to the public in inſtalments, at the ſeveral dates of April 6, May 14, June 17, and July 3, 1782, and bear the name of C. Bretherton as publiſher. He publiſhed his firſt veritable caricature on the occaſion of the miniſterial changes which followed the death of lord Rockingham, when lord Shelburne was placed at the head of the cabinet, and Fox and Burke retired, while Pitt became chancellor of the exchequer. This caricature, which bears the title of "Paradiſe Loſt," and is, in fact, a parody upon Milton, repreſents the once happy pair, Fox and Burke, turned out of their paradiſe, the Treaſury, the arch of the gate of which is ornamented with the heads of Shelburne, the prime miniſter, and Dunning and Barré, two of his ſtaunch ſupporters, who were conſidered to be eſpecially obnoxious to Fox and Burke. Between theſe three heads appear the faces of two mocking fiends, and groups of piſtols, daggers, and ſwords. Beneath are inſcribed the well-known lines of Milton—

To the eaſtern ſide
Of Paradiſe, ſo late their happy ſeat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms!
Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them ſoon.
The world was all before them, where to chooſe
Their place of reſt, and providence their guide.
They, arm in arm, with wand'ring ſteps, and ſlow,
Thro' Eden took their ſolitary way.

Nothing can be more lugubrious than the air of the two friends, Fox and Burke, as they walk away, arm in arm, from the gate of the miniſterial paradiſe. From this time Sayer, who adopted all Pitt's virulence towards Fox,

Fox, made the latter a continual ſubject of his ſatire. Nor did this zeal paſs unrewarded, for Pitt, in power, gave the caricaturiſt the not unlucrative offices of marſhal of the court of exchequer, receiver of the ſixpenny duties, and curſitor. Sayer was, in fact, Pitt's caricaturiſt, and was employed by him in attacking ſucceſſively the coalition under Fox and North, Fox's India Bill, and even, at a later period, Warren Haſtings on his trial.

I have already remarked that Sayer was almoſt excluſively a political caricaturiſt. The exceptions are a few prints on theatrical ſubjects, in



No. 215. *A Contraſt.*

which contemporary actors and actreſſes are caricatured, and a ſingle ſubject from faſhionable life. A copy of the latter forms our cut No. 215. It has no title in the original, but in a copy in my poſſeſſion a contemporary has written on the margin in pencil that the lady is Miſs Snow and the gentleman Mr. Bird, no doubt well-known perſonages in contemporary ſociety. It was publiſhed on the 19th of July, 1783.

One of Sayer's moſt ſucceſsful caricatures, in regard to the effect it produced

produced on the public, was that on Fox's India Bill, publiſhed on the 5th of September, 1783. It was entitled "Carlo Khan's Triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street," Carlo Khan being perſonified by Fox, who is carried in triumph to the door of the India Houſe on the back of an elephant, which preſents the face of lord North. Burke, who had been the principal ſupporter of the bill in debate, appears in the character of the imperial trumpeter, and leads the elephant on its way. On a banner behind Carlo, the old inſcription, "The Man of the People," the title popularly given to Fox, is eraſed, and the two Greek words, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, "king of kings," ſubſtituted in its place. From a chimney above, the bird of ill omen croaks forth the doom of the ambitious miniſter, who, it was pretended, aimed at making himſelf more powerful than the king himſelf; and on the ſide of the houſe juſt below we read the words—

The night-crow cried foreboding luckleſs time.—Shakespeare.

Henry William Bunbury belonged to a more ariſtocratic claſs in ſociety than any of the preceding. He was the ſecond ſon of Sir William Bunbury, Bart., of Mildenhall, in the county of Suffolk, and was born in 1750. How he firſt took ſo zealouſly to caricature we have no information, but he began to publiſh before he was twenty-one years of age. Bunbury's drawing was bold and often good, but he had little ſkill in etching, for ſome of his earlier prints, publiſhed in 1771, which he etched himſelf, are coarſely executed. His deſigns were afterwards engraved by various perſons, and his own ſtyle was ſometimes modified in this proceſs. His earlier prints were etched and ſold by James Bretherton, who has been already mentioned as publiſhing the works of James Sayer. This Bretherton was in ſome eſteem as an engraver, and he alſo had a print-ſhop at 132, New Bond Street, where his engravings were publiſhed. James had a ſon named Charles, who diſplayed great talent at an early age, but he died young. As early as 1772, when the macaronis (the dandies of the eighteenth century) came into faſhion, James Bretherton's name appears on prints by Bunbury as the engraver and publiſher, and it occurs again as the engraver of his print of "Strephon and Chloe" in 1801,

1801, which was publiſhed by Fores. At this and a later period ſome of his deſigns were engraved by Rowlandſon, who always transferred his own ſtyle to the drawings he copied. A remarkable inſtance of this is furniſhed by a print of a party of anglers of both ſexes in a punt, entitled "Anglers of 1811" (the year of Bunbury's death). But for the name, "H. Bunbury, del.," very diſtinctly inſcribed upon it, we ſhould take this to be a genuine deſign by Rowlandſon; and in 1803 Rowlandſon engraved ſome copies of Bunbury's prints on horſemanſhip for Ackermann, of the Strand, in which all traces of Bunbury's ſtyle are loſt. Bunbury's ſtyle is rather broadly burleſque.

Bunbury had evidently little taſte for political caricature, and he

No. 216. *How to Travel on Two Legs in a Froſt.*

ſeldom meddled with it. Like Collet, he preferred ſcenes of ſocial life, and humorous incidents of contemporary manners, faſhionable or popular. He had a great taſte for caricaturing bad or awkward horſemanſhip or unmanageable horſes, and his prints of ſuch ſubjects were numerous and greatly admired. This taſte for equeſtrian pieces was ſhown in prints publiſhed in 1772, and ſeveral droll ſeries of ſuch ſubjects appeared at different times, between 1781 and 1791, one of which was long famous under the title of "Geoffrey Gambado's Horſemanſhip."

An example of theſe incidents of horſemanſhip is copied in our cut No. 216, where a not very ſkilful rider, with a troubleſome horſe, is taking advantage of the ſtate of the ground for accelerating locomotion. It is entitled, "How to travel on Two Legs in a Froſt," and is accompanied with the motto, in Latin, "*Oſtendunt terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra eſſe ſinent.*"

Occaſionally Bunbury drew in a broader ſtyle of caricature, eſpecially in ſome of his later works. Of our examples of this broader ſtyle, the firſt cut, No. 217, entitled "Strephon and Chloe," is dated the

No. 217. *Strephon and Chloe.*

1ſt of July, 1801. It is the very acme of ſentimental courtſhip, expreſſed in a ſpirit of drollery which could not eaſily be excelled. The next group (cut No. 218), from a ſimilar print publiſhed on the 21ſt of July in the ſame year, is a no leſs admirable picture of overſtrained politeneſs. It is entitled in the original, "The Salutation Tavern," probably with a temporary alluſion beyond the more apparent deſign of the picture. Bunbury, as before ſtated, died in 1811. It is enough to ſay that ſir Joſhua Reynolds uſed to expreſs a high opinion of him as an artiſt.

Bunbury's prints rarely appeared without his name, and, except when they had paſſed through the engraving of Rowlandſon, are eaſily recogniſed. No doubt his was conſidered a popular name, which was almoſt of as much importance as the print itſelf. But

a

a large maſs of the caricatures publiſhed at the latter end of the laſt century and the beginning of the preſent, appeared anonymouſly, or with imaginary names. Thus a political print, entitled "The Modern Atlas," bears the inſcription "Maſr Hook fecit;" another entitled "Farmer George delivered," has that of "Poll Pitt del." "Everybody delinit," is inſcribed on a caricature entitled "The Lover's Leap;" and one which appeared under the title of "Veterinary Operations," is inſcribed "Giles Grinagain fect." Some of theſe were probably

No. 218. *A Faſhionable Salutation.*

the works of amateurs, for there appear to have been many amateur caricaturiſts in England at that time. In a caricature entitled "The Scotch Arms," publiſhed by Fores on the 3rd of January, 1787, we find the announcement, "Gentlemen's deſigns executed gratis," which means, of courſe, that Fores would publiſh the caricatures of amateurs, if he approved them, without making the ſaid amateurs pay for the engraving. But alſo ſome of the beſt caricaturiſts of the day publiſhed much anonymouſly, and we know that this was the caſe to a very great extent with ſuch artiſts as Cruikſhank, Woodward, &c., at all events until ſuch time as their names became ſufficiently popular to be a recommendation to the print. It is certain that many of Woodward's deſigns were publiſhed without

without his name. Such was the caſe with the print of which we give a copy in our cut No. 219, which was publiſhed on the 5th of May, 1796, and which bears ſtrongly the marks of Woodward's ſtyle. The ſpring of this year, 1796, witneſſed a general diſappointment at the failure of the negociations for peace, and therefore the neceſſity of new ſacrifices for carrying on the war, and of increaſed taxation. Many clever caricatures appeared on this occaſion, of which this by Woodward was one. Of

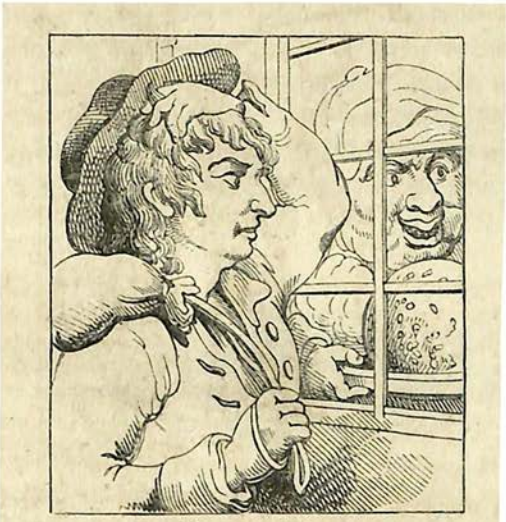
No. 219. General Complaint.

courſe, when war was inevitable, the queſtion of generals was a very important one, and the caricaturiſt pretends that the greateſt general of the age was "General Complaint.' The general appears here with an empty purſe in his right hand, and in his left a handful of papers containing a liſt of bankrupts, the ſtatement of the budget, &c. Four lines beneath, in rather doggrel verſe, explain the ſituation as follows:—

Don't tell me of generals raiſed from mere boys,
Though, believe me, I mean not their laurel to taint;
But the general, I'm ſure, that will make the moſt noiſe,
If the war ſtill goes on, will be General Complaint.

There

There was much of Bunbury's ſtyle in that of Woodward, who had a taſte for the ſame broad caricatures upon ſociety, which he executed in a ſimilar ſpirit. Some of the *ſuites* of ſubjects of this deſcription that he publiſhed, ſuch as the ſeries of the "Symptoms of the Shop," thoſe of "Everybody out of town" and "Everybody in Town," and the "Specimens of Domeſtic Phrenſy," are extremely clever and amuſing. Woodward's deſigns were alſo not unfrequently engraved by Rowlandſon, who, as uſual, imprinted his own ſtyle upon them. A very good example of this practice is ſeen in the print of which we give a copy in our cut No. 220. Its title, in the original, is "Deſire," and the paſſion is



No. 220. Deſire.

exemplified in the caſe of a hungry ſchoolboy watching through a window a jolly cook carrying by a tempting plum-pudding. We are told in an inſcription underneath: "Various are the ways this paſſion might be depicted; in this delineation the ſubjects choſen are ſimple—a hungry boy and a plum-pudding." The deſign of this print is ſtated to be Woodward's; but the ſtyle is altogether that of Rowlandſon, whoſe name appears on it as the etcher. It was publiſhed by R. Ackermann, on the 20th

20th of January, 1800. Woodward is well known by his prolific pencil, but we are ſo little acquainted with the man himſelf, that I cannot ſtate the date either of his birth or of his death.

There lived at this time in Edinburgh an engraver of ſome eminence in his way, but whoſe name is now nearly forgotten, and, in fact, it does not occur in the laſt edition of Bryan's "Dictionary of Engravers." This name was John Kay, which is found attached to prints, of which about four hundred are known, with dates extending from 1784 to 1817. As an engraver, Kay poſſeſſed no great talent, but he had conſiderable humour,

No. 221. Looking a Rock in the Face.

and he excelled in catching and delineating the ſtriking points in the features and gait of the individuals who then moved in Edinburgh Society. In fact, a large proportion of his prints conſiſt of caricature portraits, often ſeveral figures on the ſame plate, which is uſually of ſmall dimenſions.

Among

Among them are many of the profeſſors and other diſtinguiſhed members of the univerſity of Edinburgh. Thus one, copied in our cut No. 221, repreſents the eminent old geologiſt, Dr. James Hutton, rather aſtoniſhed at the ſhapes which his favourite rocks have ſuddenly taken. The original print is dated in 1787, ten years before Dr. Hutton's death. The idea of giving faces to rocks was not new in the time of John Kay, and it has been frequently repeated. Some of theſe caricature portraits are clever and amuſing, and they are at times very ſatirical. Kay appears to have rarely ventured on caricature of any other deſcription, but there is one rare plate by him, entitled "The Craft in Danger," which is ſtated in a few words pencilled on the copy I have before me, to have been aimed at a cabal for propoſing Dr. Barclay for a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Edinburgh. It diſplays no great talent, and is, in fact, now not very intelligible. The figures introduced in it are evidently intended for rather caricatured portraits of members of the univerſity engaged in the cabal, and are in the ſtyle of Kay's other portraits.*

* In the library of the British Museum there is a collection of John Kay's works bound in two volumes quarto, with a title and table of contents in manuscript, but whether it is one of a few copies intended for publication, or whether it is merely the collection of some individual, I am not prepared to say. It contains 343 plates, which are stated to be all Kay's works down to the year 1813, when this collection was made. "The Craft in Danger" is not among them. I have before me a smaller, but a very choice selection, of Kay's caricatures, the loan of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. John Camden Hotten, of Piccadilly. I am indebted to Mr. Hotten for many courtesies of this description, and especially for the use of a very valuable collection of caricatures of the latter part of the eighteenth century and earlier part of the present, mounted in four large folio volumes, which has been of much use to me.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GILLRAY.—HIS FIRST ATTEMPTS.—HIS CARICATURES BEGIN WITH THE SHELBURNE MINISTRY.—IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS.—CARICATURES ON THE KING; "NEW WAY TO PAY THE NATIONAL DEBT."—ALLEGED REASON FOR GILLRAY'S HOSTILITY TO THE KING.—THE KING AND THE APPLE-DUMPLINGS.—GILLRAY'S LATER LABOURS.—HIS IDIOTCY AND DEATH.

IN the year 1757 was born the greateſt of Engliſh caricaturiſts, and perhaps of all caricaturiſts of modern times whoſe works are known—James Gillray. His father, who was named like himſelf, James, was a Scotchman, a native of Lanark, and a ſoldier, and, having loſt one arm at the battle of Fontenoy, became an out-penſioner of Chelſea Hoſpital. He obtained alſo the appointment of ſexton at the Moravian burial-ground at Chelſea, which he held forty years, and it was at Chelſea that James Gillray the younger was born. The latter, having no doubt ſhown ſigns of artiſtic talent, was put apprentice to letter-engraving; but after a time, becoming diſguſted with this employment, he ran away, and joined a party of ſtrolling players, and in their company paſſed through many adventures, and underwent many hardſhips. He returned, however to London, and received ſome encouragement as a promiſing artiſt, and obtained admiſſion as a ſtudent in the Royal Academy—the then young inſtitution to which Hogarth had been oppoſed. Gillray ſoon became known as a deſigner and engraver, and worked in theſe capacities for the publiſhers. Among his earlier productions, two illuſtrations of Goldſmith's "Deſerted Village" are ſpoken of with praiſe, as diſplaying a remarkable freedom of effect. For a long time after Gillray became known as a caricaturiſt he continued to engrave the deſigns of other artiſts. The earlieſt known caricature which can be aſcribed to him with any certainty, is the plate entitled "Paddy on Horſeback," and dated in 1779, when he was twenty-two years of age. The "horſe" on which Paddy rides is a bull; he is ſeated

ſeated with his face turned to the tail. The ſubject of ſatire is ſuppoſed to be the character then enjoyed by the Iriſh as fortune-hunters. The point, however, is not very apparent, and indeed Gillray's earlieſt caricatures are tame, although it is remarkable how rapidly he improved, and how ſoon he arrived at excellence. Two caricatures, publiſhed in June and July, 1782, on the occaſion of admiral Rodney's victory, are looked upon as marking his firſt decided appearance in politics.

A diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Gillray's ſtyle is, the wonderful tact with which he ſeizes upon the points in his ſubject open to ridicule, and the force with which he brings thoſe points out. In the fineneſs of his deſign, and in his grouping and drawing, he excels all the other caricaturiſts. He was, indeed, born with all the talents of a great hiſtorical painter, and, but for circumſtances, he probably would have ſhone in that branch of art. This excellence will be the more appreciated when it is underſtood that he drew his picture with the needle on the plate, without having made any previous ſketch of it, except ſometimes a few haſty outlines of individual portraits or characters ſcrawled on cards or ſcraps of paper as they ſtruck him.

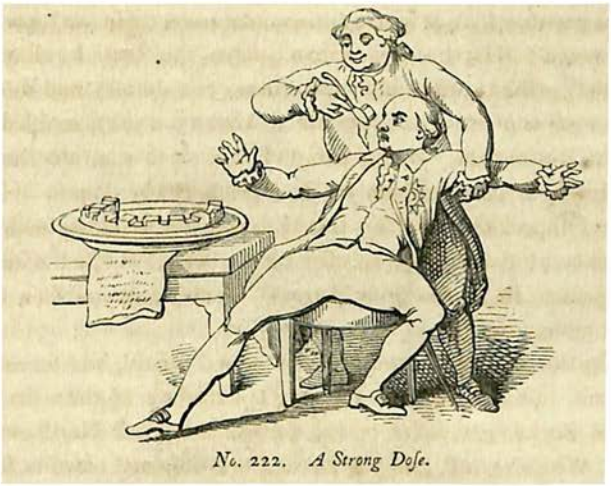
Soon after the two caricatures on Rodney's naval victory, the Rockingham adminiſtration was broken up by the death of its chief, and another was formed under the direction of Lord Shelburne, from which Fox and Burke retired, leaving in it their old colleague, Pitt, who now deſerted the Whig party in parliament. Fox and Burke became from this moment the butt of all ſorts of abuſe and ſcornful ſatire from the caricaturiſts, ſuch as Sayer, and newſpaper writers in the pay of their opponents; and Gillray, perhaps becauſe it offered at that moment the beſt chance of popularity and ſucceſs, joined in the cruſade againſt the two ex-miniſters and their friends. In one of his caricatures, which is a parody upon Milton, Fox is repreſented in the character of Satan, turning his back upon the miniſterial Paradiſe, but looking enviouſly over his ſhoulder at the happy pair (Shelburne and Pitt) who are counting their money on the treaſury table :—

Aſide he turned
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Eyed them aſkance.

Another, alſo by Gillray, is entitled "Guy Faux and Judas Iſcariot," the former repreſented by Fox, who diſcovers the deſertion of his late colleague, lord Shelburne, by the light of his lantern, and recriminates angrily, "Ah! what, I've found you out, have I? Who arm'd the high prieſts and the people? Who betray'd his mas—?" At this point he is interrupted by a ſneering retort from Shelburne, who is carrying away the treaſury bag with a look of great ſelf-complacency, "Ha, ha! poor Gunpowder's vexed! He, he, he!—Shan't have the bag, I tell you, old Gooſetooth!" Burke was uſually caricatured as a Jeſuit; and in another of Gillray's prints of this time (publiſhed Aug. 23, 1782), entitled "Cincinnatus in Retirement," Burke is repreſented as driven into the retirement of his Iriſh cabin, where he is ſurrounded by Popiſh relics and emblems of ſuperſtition, and by the materials for drinking whiſky. A veſſel, inſcribed "Relick No. 1., uſed by St. Peter," is filled with boiled potatoes, which Jeſuit Burke is paring. Three imps are ſeen dancing under the table.

In 1783 the Shelburne miniſtry itſelf was diſſolved, and ſucceeded by the Portland miniſtry, in which Fox was ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, and Burke, paymaſter of the forces, and Lord North, who had joined the Whigs againſt lord Shelburne, now obtained office as ſecretary for the home department. Gillray joined warmly in the attacks on this coalition of parties, and from this time his great activity as a caricaturiſt begins. Fox, eſpecially, and Burke, ſtill under the character of a Jeſuit, were inceſſantly held up to ridicule in his prints. In another year this miniſtry alſo was overthrown, and young William Pitt became eſtabliſhed in power, while the ex-miniſters, now the oppoſition, had become unpopular throughout the country. The caricature of Gillray followed them, and Fox and Burke conſtantly appeared under his hands in ſome ridiculous ſituation or other. But Gillray was not a hired libeller, like Sayer and ſome of the lower caricaturiſts of that time; he evidently choſe his ſubjects, in ſome degree independently, as thoſe which offered him the beſt mark for ridicule; and he had ſo little reſpect for the miniſters or the court, that they all felt his ſatire in turn. Thus, when the plan of national fortifications—brought forward by the duke of Richmond, who had

had deſerted the Whigs to be made a Tory miniſter, as maſter-general of the ordnance—was defeated in the Houſe of Commons in 1787, the beſt caricature it provoked was one by Gillray, entitled "Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe," which repreſents the horror of the duke of Richmond at being ſo unceremoniouſly compelled to ſwallow his own fortifications (cut No. 222).



No. 222. A Strong Doſe.

It is lord Shelburne, who had now become marquis of Lanſdowne, who is repreſented as adminiſtering the bitter doſe. Some months afterwards, in the famous impeachment againſt Warren Haſtings, Gillray ſided warmly againſt the impeachers, perhaps partly becauſe theſe were Burke and his friends; yet ſeveral of his caricatures on this affair are aimed at the miniſters, and even at the king himſelf. Lord Thurlow, who was a favourite with the king, and who ſupported the cauſe of Warren Haſtings with firmneſs, after he had been deſerted by Pitt and the other miniſters, was eſpecially an object of Gillray's ſatire. Thurlow, it will be remembered, was rather celebrated for profane ſwearing, and was ſometimes ſpoken of as the thunderer. One of the fineſt of Gillray's caricatures at this period, publiſhed on the 1ſt of March, 1788, is entitled "Blood on Thunder fording the Red Sea," and repreſents Warren Haſtings carried on chancellor Thurlow's ſhoulders through a ſea of blood, ſtrewed with the

the mangled corpſes of Hindoos. As will be ſeen in our copy of the moſt important part of this print (cut No. 223), the "ſaviour of India," as he was called by his friends, has taken care to ſecure his gains. A remarkably bold caricature by Gillray againſt the government appeared on the 2nd of May in this year. It is entitled "Market-Day—every man has his price," and repreſents a ſcene in Smithfield, where the horned cattle expoſed for ſale are the ſupporters of the king's miniſtry. Lord

No. 223. Blood on Thunder.

Thurlow, with his characteriſtic frown, appears as the principal purchaſer. Pitt, and his friend and colleague Dundas, are repreſented drinking and ſmoking jovially at the window of a public-houſe. On one ſide Warren Haſtings is riding off with the king in the form of a calf, which he has juſt purchaſed, for Haſtings was popularly believed to have worked upon king George's avarice by rich preſents of diamonds. On another ſide, the overwhelming ruſh of the cattle is throwing over the van in which Fox, Burke, and Sheridan are driving. This plate deſerves to be placed among Gillray's fineſt works.

Gillray caricatured the heir to the throne with bitterneſs, perhaps becauſe

becauſe his diſſipation and extravagance rendered him a fair ſubject of ridicule, and becauſe he aſſociated himſelf with Fox's party in politics; but his hoſtility to the king is aſcribed in part to perſonal feelings. A large and very remarkable print by our artiſt, though his name was not attached to it, and one which diſplays in a ſpecial manner the great characteriſtics of Gillray's ſtyle, appeared on the 21ſt of April, 1786, juſt after an application had been made to the Houſe of Commons for a large ſum of money to pay off the king's debts, which were very great, in ſpite of the enormous income then attached to the crown. George was known as a careful and even a parſimonious man, and the queen was looked upon generally as a mean and very avaricious woman, and people were at a loſs to account for this extraordinary expenditure, and they tried to explain it in various ways which were not to the credit of the royal pair. It was ſaid that immenſe ſums were ſpent in ſecret corruption to pave the way to the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power; that the king was making large ſavings, and hoarding up treaſures at Hanover; and that, inſtead of ſpending money on his family, he allowed his eldeſt ſon to run into ſerious difficulties through the ſmallneſs of his allowance, and thus to become an object of pity to his French friend, the wealthy duc d'Orleans, who had offered him relief. The caricature juſt mentioned, which is extremely ſevere, is entitled "A new way to pay the National Debt." It repreſents the entrance to the treaſury, from which king George and his queen, with their band of penſioners, are iſſuing, their pockets, and the queen's apron, ſo full of money, that the coins are rolling out and ſcattering about the ground. Neverthleſs, Pitt, whoſe pockets alſo are full, adds to the royal treaſures large bags of the national revenue, which are received with ſmiles of ſatisfaction. To the left, a crippled ſoldier ſits on the ground, and aſks in vain for relief; while the wall above is covered with torn placards, on ſome of which may be read, "God ſave the King;" "Charity, a romance;" "From Germany, juſt arrived a large and royal aſſortment . . . . ;" and "Laſt dying ſpeech of fifty-four male-factors executed for robbing a hen-rooſt." The latter is a ſatirical alluſion to the notorious ſeverity with which the moſt trifling depredators on the king's private farm were proſecuted. In the background, on the right

right hand ſide of the picture, the prince appears in ragged garments, and in want of charity no leſs than the cripple, and near him is the duke of Orleans, who offers him a draft for £200,000. On the placards on the walls here we read ſuch announcements as "Economy, an old ſong;" "Britiſh property, a farce;" and "Juſt publiſhed, for the benefit of poſterity, the dying groans of Liberty;" and one, immediately over the prince's head, bears the prince's feathers, with the motto, "Ich ſtarve." Altogether this is one of the moſt remarkable of Gillray's caricatures.

The parſimoniouſneſs of the king and queen was the ſubject of caricatures and ſongs in abundance, in which theſe illuſtrious perſonages appeared

No. 224. Farmer George and his Wife.

haggling with their tradeſmen, and making bargains in perſon, rejoicing in having thus ſaved a ſmall ſum of money. It was ſaid that George kept a farm at Windſor, not for his amuſement, but to draw a ſmall profit from it. By Peter Pindar he is deſcribed as rejoicing over the ſkill he has ſhown in purchaſing his live ſtock as bargains. Gillray ſeized greedily all theſe points of ridicule, and, as early as 1786, he publiſhed a print of "Farmer George and his Wife" (ſee our cut No. 224), in which the two royal perſonages

perſonages are repreſented in the very familiar manner in which they were accuſtomed to walk about Windſor and its neighbourhood. This picture appears to have been very popular; and years afterwards, in a caricature on a ſcene in "The School for Scandal," where, in the ſale of the young profligate's effects, the auctioneer puts up a family portrait, for which a broker offers five ſhillings, and Careleſs, the auctioneer, ſays, "Going for no more than one crown," the family piece is the well-known picture of "Farmer George and his Wife," and the ruined prodigal is the prince of Wales, who exclaims, "Careleſs, knock down the farmer."

Many caricatures againſt the undignified meanneſs of the royal houſehold appeared during the years 1791 and 1792, when the king paſſed much of his time at his favourite watering-place, Weymouth; and there his domeſtic habits had become more and more an object of remark. It was ſaid that, under the pretence of Weymouth being an expenſive place, and taking advantage of the obligations of the royal mail to carry parcels for the king free, he had his proviſions brought to him by that conveyance from his farm at Windſor. On the 28th of November, 1791, Gillray publiſhed a caricature on the homelineſs of the royal houſehold, in two compartments, in one of which the king is repreſented, in a dreſs which is anything but that of royalty, toaſting his muffins for breakfaſt; and in the other, queen Charlotte, in no leſs homely dreſs, though her pocket is overflowing with money, toaſting ſprats for ſupper. In another of Gillray's prints, entitled "Anti-ſaccharites," the king and queen are teaching their daughters economy in taking their tea without ſugar; as the young princeſſes ſhow ſome diſlike to the experiment, the queen admoniſhes them, concluding with the remark, "Above all, remember how much expenſe it will ſave your poor papa!"

According to a ſtory which ſeems to be authentic, Gillray's diſlike of the king was embittered at this time by an incident ſomewhat ſimilar to that by which George II. had provoked the anger of Hogarth. Gillray had viſited France, Flanders, and Holland, and he had made ſketches, a few of which he engraved. Our cut No. 225 repreſents a group from one of theſe ſketches, which explains itſelf, and is a fair example of Gillray's

Gillray's manner of drawing ſuch ſubjects. He accompanied the painter Loutherbourg, who had left his native city of Straſburg to ſettle in England, and become the king's favourite artiſt, to aſſiſt him in making ſketches for his great painting of "The Siege of Valenciennes," Gillray ſketching groups of figures while Loutherbourg drew the landſcape and buildings. After their return, the king expreſſed a deſire to ſee their ſketches, and they were placed before him. Loutherbourg's landſcapes and buildings were plain drawings, and eaſy to underſtand, and the king expreſſed himſelf greatly pleaſed with them. But

No. 225. A Flemiſh Proclamation.

the king's mind was already prejudiced againſt Gillray for his ſatirical prints, and when he ſaw his haſty and rough, though ſpirited ſketches, of the French ſoldiers, he threw them aſide contemptuouſly, with the remark, "I don't underſtand theſe caricatures." Perhaps the very word he uſed was intended as a ſneer upon Gillray, who, we are told, felt the affront deeply, and he proceeded to retort by a caricature, which ſtruck at once at one of the king's vanities, and at his political prejudices. George III. imagined himſelf a great connoiſſeur in the fine arts, and the caricature was entitled 'A Connoiſſeur examining a Cooper." It repreſented

ſented the king looking at the celebrated miniature of Oliver Cromwell, by the Engliſh painter, Samuel Cooper. When Gillray had completed this print, he is ſaid to have exclaimed, "I wonder if the royal connoiſſeur will underſtand this!" It was publiſhed on the 18th of June, 1792, and cannot have failed to produce a ſenſation at that period of revolutions. The king is made to exhibit a ſtrange mixture of alarm with aſtoniſhment in contemplating the features of this great overthrower of kingly power, at a moment when all kingly power was threatened. It will be remarked, too, that the ſatiriſt has not overlooked the royal character for domeſtic

No. 226. A Connoiſſeur in Art.

economy, for, as will be ſeen in our cut No. 226, the king is looking at the picture by the light of a candle-end ſtuck on a "ſave-all."

From this time Gillray rarely let paſs an opportunity of caricaturing the king. Sometimes he pictured his awkward and undignified gait, as he was accuſtomed to ſhuffle along the eſplanade at Weymouth; ſometimes in the familiar manner in which, in the courſe of his walks in the neighbourhood of his Windſor farm, he accoſted the commoneſt labourers and cottagers, and overwhelmed them with a long repetition of trivial queſtions—for king George had a characteriſtic manner of repeating his queſtions, and of frequently giving the reply to them himſelf.

Then aſks the farmer's wife, or farmer's maid,
How many eggs the fowls have laid;

What 's in the oven, in the pot, the crock;
Whether 'twill rain or no, and what's o'clock;
Thus from poor hovels gleaning information,
To ſerve as future treaſure for the nation.

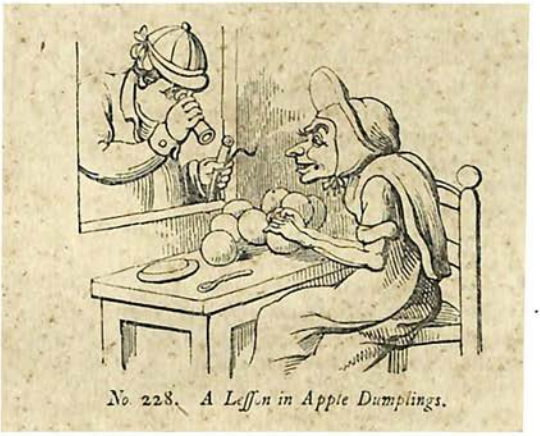
So ſaid Peter Pindar; and in this *rôle* king George was repreſented not unfrequently in ſatirical prints. On the 10th of February Gillray illuſtrated the quality of "Affability" in a picture of one of theſe ruſtic encounters. The king and queen, taking their walk, have arrived at a cottage, where a very coarſe example of Engliſh peaſantry is feeding his pigs with waſh. The ſcene is repreſented in our cut No. 227. The vacant

No. 227. Royal Affability.

ſtare of the countryman betrays his confuſion at the rapid ſucceſſion of queſtions—"Well, friend, where a' you going, hay?—What's your name, hay?—Where do you live, hay?—hay?" In other prints the king is repreſented running into ludicrous adventures while hunting, an amuſe-

ment

ment to which he was extremely attached. One of the beſt known of theſe has been celebrated equally by the pen of Peter Pindar and by the needle of Gillray. It was ſaid that one day while king George was following the chaſe, he came to a poor cottage, where his uſual curioſity was rewarded by the diſcovery of an old woman making apple dumplings. When informed what they were, he could not conceal his aſtoniſhment how the apples could have been introduced without leaving a ſeam in their covering. In the caricature by Gillray, from which we take our cut No. 228, the king is repreſented looking at the proceſs of dumpling making through the window, inquiring in aſtoniſhment, "Hay? hay? apple



No. 228. *A Leſſon in Apple Dumplings.*

dumplings?—how get the apples in?—how? Are they made without ſeams?" The ſtory is told more fully in the following verſes of Peter Pindar, which will ſerve as the beſt commentary on the engraving:—

THE KING AND THE APPLE DUMPLING.

Once on a time a monarch, tired with whooping,
Whipping and ſpurring,
Happy in worrying
A poor, defenceleſs, harmleſs buck
(The horſe and rider wet as muck),
From his high conſequence and wiſdom ſtooping,
Enter'd through curioſity a cot,
Where ſat a poor old woman and her pot.

The

The wrinkled, blear-eyed, good old granny,
In this ſame cot, illum'd by many a cranny,
Had finiſh'd apple dumplings for her pot.
In tempting row the naked dumplings lay,
When lo! the monarch in his uſual way
Like light'ning ſpoke, "What this? what this? what? what?"
Then taking up a dumpling in his hand,
His eyes with admiration did expand,
And oft did majeſty the dumpling grapple.
"'Tis monſtrous, monſtrous hard, indeed?" he cried;
"What makes it, pray, ſo hard?"—The dame replied,
Low curtſeying, "Pleaſe your majeſty, the apple."
"Very aſtoniſhing, indeed! ſtrange thing!"
Turning the dumpling round, rejoined the king;
"'Tis moſt extraordinary then, all this is—
It beats Pinetti's conjuring all to pieces—
Strange I ſhould never of a dumpling dream!
But, Goody, tell me where, where, where's the ſeam?"
"Sir, there's no ſeam," quoth ſhe, "I never knew
That folks did apple dumplings ſew."
"No!" cried the ſtaring monarch with a grin,
"How, how the devil got the apple in?"
On which the dame the curious ſcheme reveal'd
By which the apple lay ſo ſly conceal'd,
Which made the Solomon of Britain ſtart;
Who to the palace with full ſpeed repair'd
And queen, and princeſſes ſo beauteous, ſcared,
All with the wonders of the dumpling art.
There did he labour one whole week, to ſhow
The wiſdom of an apple dumpling maker;
And lo! ſo deep was majeſty in dough,
The palace ſeem'd the lodging of a baker!

Gillray was not the only caricaturiſt who turned the king's weakneſſes to ridicule, but none caricatured them with ſo little gentleneſs, or evidently with ſo good a will. On the 7th of March, 1796, the princeſs of Wales gave birth to a daughter, ſo well known ſince as the princeſs Charlotte. The king is ſaid to have been charmed with his grandchild, and this ſentiment appears to have been anticipated by the public, for on the 13th of February, when the princeſs's accouchment was looked forward to with general intereſt, a print appeared under the title of "Grandpapa in his Glory." In this caricature, which is given in

our

our cut No. 229, king George, ſeated, is repreſented nurſing and feeding the royal infant in an extraordinary degree of homelineſs. He is ſinging the nurſery rhyme—

There was a laugh and a crow,
There was a giggling honey,
Goody good girl ſhalt be fed,
But naughty girl ſhall have noney.

This print bears no name; but it is known to be by Woodward, though it betrays an attempt to imitate the ſtyle of Gillray. Gillray was often

No. 229. Grandfather George.

imitated in this manner, and his prints were not unfrequently copied and pirated. He even at times copied himſelf, and diſguiſed his own ſtyle, for the ſake of gaining money.

At the period of the regency bill in 1789, Gillray attacked Pitt's policy in that affair with great ſeverity. In a caricature publiſhed on the 3rd of January, he drew the premier in the character of an over-gorged vulture, with one claw fixed firmly on the crown and ſceptre, and with the

the other ſeizing upon the prince's coronet, from which he is plucking the feathers. Among other good caricatures on this occaſion, perhaps the fineſt is a parody on Fuſeli's picture of "The Weird Siſters," in which Dundas, Pitt, and Thurlow, as the ſiſters, are contemplating the moon, the bright ſide of whoſe diſc repreſents the face of the queen, and the other that of the king, overcaſt with mental darkneſs. Gillray took a ſtrongly hoſtile view of the French revolution, and produced an immenſe number of caricatures againſt the French and their rulers, and their friends, or ſuppoſed friends, in this country, during the period extending from 1790 to the earlier years of the preſent century. Through all the changes of miniſtry or policy, he ſeems to have fixed himſelf ſtrongly on individuals, and he ſeldom ceaſed to caricature the perſon who had once provoked his attacks. So it was with the lord chancellor Thurlow, who became the butt of ſavage ſatire in ſome of his prints which appeared in 1792, at the time when Pitt forced him to reſign the chancellorſhip. Among theſe is one of the boldeſt caricatures which he ever executed. It is a parody, fine almoſt to ſublimity, on a well-known ſcene in Milton, and is entitled, "Sin, Death, and the Devil." The queen, as Sin, ruſhes to ſeparate the two combatants, Death (in the ſemblance of Pitt) and Satan (in that of Thurlow). During the latter part of the century Gillray caricatured all parties in turn, whether miniſterial or oppoſition, with indiſcriminate vigour; but his hoſtility towards the party of Fox, whom he perſiſted in regarding, or at leaſt in repreſenting, as unpatriotic revolutioniſts, was certainly greateſt. In 1803 he worked energetically againſt the Addington miniſtry; and in 1806 he caricatured that which was known by the title of "All the Talents;" but during this later period of his life his labours were more eſpecially aimed at keeping up the ſpirit of his countrymen againſt the threats and deſigns of our foreign enemies. It was, in fact, the caricature which at that time met with the greateſt encouragement.

In his own perſon, Gillray had lived a life of great irregularity, and as he grew older, his habits of diſſipation and intemperance increaſed, and gradually broke down his intellect. Towards the year 1811 he ceaſed producing any original works; the laſt plate he executed was a drawing of

of Bunbury's, entitled "A Barber's Shop in Aſſize Time,' which is ſuppoſed to have been finiſhed in the January of that year. Soon afterwards his mind ſank into idiotcy, from which it never recovered. James Gillray died in 1815, and was buried in St. James's churchyard, Piccadilly, near the rectory houſe.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

GILLRAY'S CARICATURES ON SOCIAL LIFE.—THOMAS ROWLANDSON.—HIS EARLY LIFE.—HE BECOMES A CARICATURIST.—HIS STYLE AND WORKS.—HIS DRAWINGS.—THE CRUIKSHANKS.

GILLRAY was, beyond all others, the great political caricaturiſt of his age. His works form a complete hiſtory of the greater and more important portion of the reign of George III. He appears to have had leſs taſte for general caricature, and his caricatures on ſocial life are leſs numerous, and with a few exceptions leſs important, than thoſe which were called forth by political events. The exceptions are chiefly ſatires on individual characters, which are marked by the ſame bold ſtyle which is diſplayed in his political attacks. Some of his caricatures on the extravagant coſtume of the time, and on its more prominent vices, ſuch as the rage for gambling, are alſo fine, but his ſocial ſketches generally are much inferior to his other works.

This, however, was not the caſe with his contemporary, Thomas Rowlandſon, who doubtleſsly ſtands ſecond to Gillray, and may, in ſome reſpects, be conſidered his equal. Rowlandſon was born in the Old Jewry in London, the year before that of the birth of Gillray, in the July of 1756. His father was a city merchant, who had the means to give him a good education, but embarking raſhly in ſome unſucceſsful ſpeculations, he fell into reduced circumſtances, and the ſon had to depend upon the liberality of a relative. His uncle, Thomas Rowlandſon, after whom probably he was named, had married a French lady, a Mademoiſelle Chatelier, who was now a widow, reſiding in Paris, with what would be conſidered in that capital a handſome fortune, and ſhe appears to have been attached to her Engliſh nephew, and ſupplied him rather freely with money. Young Rowlandſon had ſhown at an early age great talent for drawing

drawing, with an eſpecial turn for ſatire. As a ſchoolboy, he covered the margins of his books with caricatures upon his maſter and upon his fellow-ſcholars, and at the age of ſixteen he was admitted a ſtudent in the Royal Academy in London, then in its infancy. But he did not profit immediately by this admiſſion, for his aunt invited him to Paris, where he began and followed his ſtudies in art with great ſucceſs, and was remarked for the ſkill with which he drew the human body. His ſtudies from nature, while in Paris, are ſaid to have been remarkably fine. Nor did his taſte for ſatirical deſign fail him, for it was one of his greateſt amuſements to caricature the numerous individuals, and groups of individuals, who muſt in that age have preſented objects of ridicule to a lively Engliſhman. During this time his aunt died, leaving him all her property, conſiſting of about £7,000 in money, and a conſiderable amount in plate and other objects. The ſudden poſſeſſion of ſo much money proved à misfortune to young Rowlandſon. He appears to have had an early love for gaiety, and he now yielded to all the temptations to vice held out by the French metropolis, and eſpecially to an uncontrollable paſſion for gambling, through which he ſoon diſſipated his fortune.

Before this, however, had been effected, Rowlandſon, after having reſided in Paris about two years, returned to London, and continued his ſtudies in the Royal Academy. But he appears for ſome years to have given himſelf up entirely to his diſſipated habits, and to have worked only at intervals, when he was driven to it by the want of money. We are told by one who was intimate with him, that, when reduced to this condition, he uſed to exclaim, holding up his pencil, "I have been playing the fool, but here is my reſource!" and he would then produce—with extraordinary rapidity—caricatures enough to ſupply his momentary wants. Moſt of Rowlandſon's earlier productions were publiſhed anonymouſly, but here and there, among large collections, we meet with a print, which, by compariſon of the ſtyle with that of his earlieſt known works, we can hardly heſitate in aſcribing to him; and from theſe it would appear that he had begun with political caricature, becauſe, perhaps, at that period of great agitation, it was moſt called for, and, therefore, moſt profitable. Three of the earlieſt of the political

caricatures thus aſcribed to Rowlandſon belong to the year 1784, when he was twenty-eight years of age, and relate to the diſſolution of parliament in that year, the reſult of which was the eſtabliſhment of William Pitt in power. The firſt, publiſhed on the 11th of March, is entitled "The Champion of the People." Fox is repreſented under this title, armed with the ſword of Juſtice and the ſhield of Truth, combating the many-headed hydra, its mouths reſpectively breathing forth "Tyranny," "Aſſumed Prerogative," "Deſpotiſm," "Oppreſſion," "Secret Influence," "Scotch Politics," "Duplicity," and "Corruption." Some of theſe heads are already cut off. The Dutchman, Frenchman, and other foreign enemies are ſeen in the background, dancing round the ſtandard of "Sedition." Fox is ſupported by numerous bodies of Engliſh and Iriſhmen, the Engliſh ſhouting, "While he protects us, we will ſupport him." The Iriſh, "He gave us a free trade and all we aſked; he ſhall have our firm ſupport." Natives of India, in alluſion to his unſucceſsful India Bill, kneel by his ſide and pray for his ſucceſs. The ſecond of theſe caricatures was publiſhed on the 26th of March, and is entitled "The State Auction." Pitt is the auctioneer, and is repreſented as knocking down with the hammer of "prerogative" all the valuable articles of the conſtitution. The clerk is his colleague, Henry Dundas, who holds up a weighty lot, entitled, "Lot 1. The Rights of the People." Pitt calls to him, "Show the lot this way, Harry—a'going, a'going—ſpeak quick, or it's gone—hold up the lot, ye Dund-aſs!" The clerk replies in his Scottiſh accent, "I can hould it na higher, ſir." The Whig members, under the title of the "choſen repreſenters," are leaving the auction room in diſcouragement, with reflections in their mouths, ſuch as, "Adieu to Liberty!" "Deſpair not!" "Now or never!" While Fox ſtands firm in the cauſe, and exclaims—"I am determined to bid with ſpirit for Lot 1; he ſhall pay dear for it that outbids me!" Pitt's Tory ſupporters are ranged under the auctioneer, and are called the "hereditary virtuoſis;" and their leader, who appears to be the lord chancellor, addreſſes them in the words, "Mind not the nonſenſical biddings of thoſe common fellows." Dundas remarks, "We ſhall get the ſupplies by this ſale." The third of theſe caricatures is dated on the 31ſt of March, when

when the elections had commenced, and is entitled, "The Hanoverian Horſe and Britiſh Lion—a Scene in a new Play, lately acted in Weſtminſter, with diſtinguiſhed applauſe. Act 2nd, Scene laſt." At the back of the picture ſtands the vacant throne, with the intimation, "We ſhall reſume our ſituation here at pleaſure, *Leo Rex.*" In front, the Hanoverian horſe, unbridled, and without ſaddle, neighs "pre-ro-ro-ro-ro-rogative," and is trampling on the ſafeguard of the conſtitution, while it kicks out violently the "faithful commons" (alluding to the recent diſſolution of parliament). Pitt, on the back of the horſe, cries, "Bravo!—go it again!—I love to ride a mettled ſteed; ſend the vagabonds packing!" Fox appears on the other ſide of the picture, mounted on the Britiſh lion, and holding a whip and bridle in his hand. He ſays to Pitt, "Prithee, Billy, diſmount before ye get a fall, and let ſome abler jockey take your ſeat;" and the lion obſerves, indignantly, but with gravity, "If this horſe is not tamed, he will ſoon be abſolute king of our foreſt."

If theſe prints are correctly aſcribed to Rowlandſon, we ſee him here fairly entered in the liſts of political caricature, and ſiding with Fox and the Whig party. He diſplays the ſame boldneſs in attacking the king and his miniſters which was diſplayed by Gillray—a boldneſs that probably did much towards preſerving the liberties of the country from what was no doubt a reſolute attempt to trample upon them, at a time when caricature formed a very powerful weapon. Before this time, however, Rowlandſon's pencil had become practiſed in thoſe burleſque pictures of ſocial life for which he became afterwards ſo celebrated. At firſt he ſeems to have publiſhed his deſigns under fictitious names, and one now before me, entitled "The Tythe Pig," bears the early date of 1786, with the name of "Wigſtead," no doubt an aſſumed one, which is found on ſome others of his early prints. It repreſents the country parſon, in his own parlour, receiving the tribute of the tithe pig from an intereſting looking farmer's wife. The name of Rowlandſon, with the date 1792, is attached to a very clever and humorous etching which is now alſo before me, entitled "Cold Broth and Calamity," and repreſenting a party of ſkaters, who have fallen in a heap upon the ice, which is breaking under their weight. It bears the name of Fores as publiſher. From this

this time, and eſpecially toward the cloſe of the century, Rowlandſon's caricatures on ſocial life became very numerous, and they are ſo well known that it becomes unneceſſary, nor indeed would it be eaſy, to ſelect a few examples which would illuſtrate all his characteriſtic excellencies. In prints publiſhed by Fores at the beginning of 1794, the addreſs of the publiſher is followed by the words, "where may be had all Rowlandſon's works," which ſhows how great was his reputation as a caricaturiſt at that time. It may be ſtated briefly that he was diſtinguiſhed by a remarkable verſatility of talent, by a great fecundity of imagination, and by a ſkill in grouping quite equal to that of Gillray, and with a ſingular eaſe in forming his groups of a great number of figures. Among thoſe of his contemporaries who ſpoke of him with the higheſt praiſe were ſir Joſhua Reynolds and Benjamin Weſt. It has been remarked, too, that no artiſt ever poſſeſſed the power of Rowlandſon of expreſſing ſo much with ſo little effort. We trace a great difference in ſtyle between Rowlandſon's earlier and his later works; although there is a general identity of cha-

No. 230. Opera Beauties.

racter which cannot be miſtaken. The figures in the former ſhow a taſte for grace and elegance that is rare in his later works, and we find a delicacy of beauty in his females which he appears afterwards to have entirely laid aſide. An example of his earlier ſtyle in depicting female faces is furniſhed by the pretty farmer's wife, in the print of "The Tythe Pig," juſt alluded to; and I may quote as another example, an etching publiſhed on the

the 1ſt of January, 1794, under the title of "Engliſh Curioſity; or, the foreigner ſtared out of countenance." An individual, in a foreign coſtume, is ſeated in the front row of the boxes of a theatre, probably intended for the opera, where he has become the object of curioſity of the whole audience, and all eyes are eagerly directed upon him. The faces of the men are rather coarſely groteſque, but thoſe of the ladies, two of which are given in our cut No. 230, poſſeſs a conſiderable degree of refinement. He appears, however, to have been naturally a man of no real refinement, who eaſily gave himſelf up to low and vulgar taſtes, and, as his caricature became more exaggerated and coarſe, his females became leſs and leſs graceful, until his model of female beauty appears to have been repreſented by ſomething like a fat oyſter-woman. Our cut No. 231,

No. 231. The Trumpet and Baſſoon.

taken from a print in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Fairholt, entitled, "The Trumpet and Baſſoon," preſents a good example of Rowlandſon's broad humour, and of his favourite models of the human face. We can almoſt fancy we hear the different tones of this brace of ſnorers.

A good example of Rowlandſon's groteſques of the human figure is given

given in our cut No. 232, taken from a print publiſhed on the 1ſt of January, 1796, under the title of "Anything will do for an Officer." People complained of the mean appearance of the officers in our armies, who obtained their rank, it was pretended, by favour and purchaſe rather

No. 232. A Model Officer.

than by merit; and this caricature is explained by an inſcription beneath, which informs us how "Some ſchool-boys, who were playing at ſoldiers, found one of their number ſo ill-made, and ſo much under ſize, that he would have diſfigured the whole body if put into the ranks. 'What ſhall we do with him?' aſked one. 'Do with him?' ſays another, 'why make an officer of him.'" This plate is inſcribed with his name, "Rowlandſon fecit."

At this time Rowlandſon ſtill continued to work for Fores, but before the end of the century we find him working for Ackermann, of the Strand, who continued to be his friend and employer during the reſt of his life, and is ſaid to have helped him generouſly in many difficulties. In theſe, indeed, he was continually involved by his diſſipation and thoughtleſſneſs.

thoughtleſſneſs. Ackermann not only employed him in etching the drawings of other caricaturiſts, eſpecially of Bunbury, but in furniſhing illuſtrations to books, ſuch as the ſeveral ſeries of Dr. Syntax, the "New Dance of Death," and others. Rowlandſon's illuſtrations to editions of the older ſtandard novels, ſuch as "Tom Jones," are remarkably clever. In transferring the works of other caricaturiſts to the copper, Rowlandſon was in the habit of giving his own ſtyle to them to ſuch a degree, that nobody would ſuſpect that they were not his own, if the name of the deſigner were not attached to them. I have given one example of this in a former chapter, and another very curious one is furniſhed by a print now before me, entitled "Anglers of 1811," which bears only the name "H. Bunbury del.," but which is in every particular a perfect example of

No. 233. Antiquaries at Work.

the ſtyle of Rowlandſon. During the latter part of his life Rowlandſon amuſed himſelf with making an immenſe number of drawings which were never engraved, but many of which have been preſerved and are ſtill found ſcattered through the portfolios of collectors. Theſe are generally better finiſhed than his etchings, and are all more or leſs burleſque. Our cut No. 233 is taken from one of theſe drawings, in the poſſeſſion of Mr.

Mr. Fairholt; it repreſents a party of antiquaries engaged in important excavations. No doubt the figures were intended for well-known archæologiſts of the day.

Thomas Rowlandſon died in poverty, in lodgings in the Adelphi, on the 22nd of April, 1827.

Among the moſt active caricaturiſts of the beginning of the preſent century we muſt not overlook Iſaac Cruikſhank, even if it were only becauſe the name has become ſo celebrated in that of his more talented ſon. Iſaac's caricatures, too, were equal to thoſe of any of his contemporaries, after Gillray and Rowlandſon. One of the earlieſt examples which I have ſeen bearing the well-known initials, I. C., was publiſhed on the 10th of March, 1794, the year in which George Cruikſhank was born, and probably, therefore, when Iſaac was quite a young man. It is entitled "A Republican Belle," and is an evident imitation of Gillray. In another, dated the 1ſt of November, 1795, Pitt is repreſented as "The Royal Extinguiſher," putting out the flame of "Sedition." Iſaac Cruikſhank publiſhed many prints anonymouſly, and among the numerous caricatures of the latter end of the laſt century we meet with many which have no name attached to them, but which reſemble ſo exactly his known ſtyle, that we can hardly heſitate in aſcribing them to him. It will be remarked that in his acknowledged works he caricatures the oppoſition; but perhaps, like other caricaturiſts of his time, he worked privately for anybody who would pay him, and was as willing to work againſt the government as for it, for moſt of the prints which betray their author only by their ſtyle are caricatures on Pitt and his meaſures. Such is the group given in our cut No. 234, which was publiſhed on the 15th of Auguſt, 1797, at a time when there were loud complaints againſt the burthen of taxation. It is entitled "Billy's Raree-Show; or, John Bull *En*-lighten'd," and repreſents Pitt, in the character of a ſhowman, exhibiting to John Bull, and picking his pocket while his attention is occupied with the ſhow. Pitt, in a true ſhowman's ſtyle, ſays to his victim, "Now, pray lend your attention to the enchanting proſpect before you,—this is the proſpect of peace—only obſerve what a buſy ſcene preſents itſelf—the ports are filled with ſhipping, the quays loaded with merchandiſe, riches

are

are flowing in from every quarter—this proſpect alone is worth all the money you have got about you." Accordingly, the ſhowman abſtracts the ſame money from his pocket, while John Bull, unconſcious of the theft, exclaims with ſurpriſe, "Mayhap it may, maſter ſhowman, but I canna zee ony thing like what you mentions,—I zees nothing but a

No. 234. The Rarce-Shew.

woide plain, with ſome mountains and molehills upon't—as ſure as a gun, it muſt be all behoind one of thoſe!" The flag of the ſhow is inſcribed, "Licenſed by authority, Billy Hum's grand exhibition of moving mechaniſm; or, deception of the ſenſes."

In a caricature with the initials of I. C., and publiſhed on the 20th of June, 1797, Fox is repreſented as "The Watchman of the State," ironically, of courſe, for he is betraying the truſt which he had oſtentatiouſly aſſumed, and abſenting himſelf at the moment when his agents are putting the match to the train they have laid to blow up the conſtitu-

tion. Yet Cruikſhank's caricatures on the Iriſh union were rather oppoſed to miniſters. One of theſe, publiſhed on the 20th of June, 1800, is full of humour. It is entitled "A Flight acroſs the Herring Pond." England and Ireland are ſeparated by a rough ſea, over which a crowd of Iriſt "patriots" are flying, allured by the proſpect of honours and rewards. On the Iriſh ſhore, a few wretched natives, with a baby and a dog, are in an attitude of prayer, expoſtulating with the fugitives,—"Och, och! do not leave us—conſider your old houſe, it will look like a big wallnut-ſhell without a kernel." On the Engliſh ſhore, Pitt is holding open the "Imperial Pouch," and welcoming them,—"Come on, my little fellows, there's plenty of room for you all—the budget is not half full." Inſide

No. 235. Flight acroſs the Herring Pond.

the "pouch" appears a hoſt of men covered with honours and dignities, one of whom ſays to the foremoſt of the Iriſh candidates for favour, "Very ſnug and convenient, brother, I aſſure you." Behind Pitt, Dundas, ſeated on a pile of public offices united in his perſon, calls out to the immigrants, "If you've ony conſciences at a', here's enugh to ſatisfy ye a'." A portion of this clever caricature is repreſented in our cut No. 235.

There

There is a rare caricature on the ſubject of the Iriſh union, which exhibits a little of the ſtyle of Iſaac Cruikſhank, and a copy of which is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Fairholt. From this I have taken merely the group which forms our cut No. 236. It is a long print, dated on the 1ſt of January, 1800, and is entitled "The Triumphal entry of the Union

No. 236. A Caſe of Abduction.

into London." Pitt, with a paper entitled "Iriſh Freedom" in his pocket, is carrying off the young lady (Ireland) by force, with her natural accompaniment, a keg of whiſky. The lord chancellor of Ireland (lord Clare) ſits on the horſe and performs the part of fiddler. In advance of this group are a long rabble of radicals, Iriſhmen, &c., while cloſe behind comes Grattan, carried in a ſedan-chair, and earneſtly appealing to the lady, "Ierne, Ierne! my ſweet maid, liſten not to him—he's a falſe, flattering, gay deceiver." Still farther in the rear follows St. Patrick, riding on a bull, with a ſack of potatoes for his ſaddle, and playing on the Iriſh harp. An Iriſhman expoſtulates in the following words—"Ah, long life to your holy reverence's memory, why will you lave your own nate little kingdom, and go to another where they will tink no more of you then they would of an old brogue? Shure, of all the ſaints in the red letter calendar, we give you the preference! och hone! och hone!"

Another

Another Iriſhman pulls the bull by the tail, with the lament, "Ah, maſther, honey, why will you be after leaving us? What will become of poor Shelagh and all of us, when you are gone?" It is a regular Iriſh caſe of abduction.

The laſt example I ſhall give of the caricatures of Iſaac Cruikſhank is the copy of one entitled "The Farthing Ruſhlight," which, I need hardly

No. 237. The Farthing Ruſhlight.

ſay, is a parody on the ſubject of a well-known ſong. The ruſhlight is the poor old king, George, whom the prince of Wales and his Whig aſſociates, Fox, Sheridan, and others, are labouring in vain to blow out. The lateſt caricature I poſſeſs, bearing the initials of Iſaac Cruikſhank, was publiſhed by Fores, on the 19th of April, 1810, and is entitled, "The Laſt Grand Miniſterial Expedition (on the Street, Piccadilly)." The ſubject is the riot on the arreſt of ſir Francis Burdett, and it ſhows that Cruikſhank was at this time caricaturing on the radical ſide in politics.

Iſaac Cruikſhank left two ſons who became diſtinguiſhed as caricaturiſts, George, already mentioned, and Robert. George Cruikſhank, who is ſtill amongſt us, has raiſed caricature in art to perhaps the higheſt degree of excellence it has yet reached. He began as a political caricaturiſt, in imitation of his father Iſaac—in fact the two brothers are underſtood to have

have worked jointly with their father before they engraved on their own account. I have in my own poſſeſſion two of his earlieſt works of this claſs, publiſhed by Fores, of Piccadilly, and dated reſpectively the 3rd and the 19th of March, 1815. George was then under twenty-one years of age. The firſt of theſe prints is a caricature on the reſtrictions laid upon the trade in corn, and is entitled "The Bleſſings of Peace, or, the Curſe of the Corn Bill." A foreign boat has arrived, laden with corn at a low price—one of the foreign traders holds out a ſample and ſays, "Here is de beſt for 50*s*." A group of bloated ariſtocrats and landholders ſtand on the ſhore, with a cloſed ſtorehouſe, filled with corn behind them; the foremoſt, warning the boat away with his hand, replies to the merchant, "We won't have it at any price—we are determined to keep up our own to 80*s*., and if the poor can't buy at that price, why they muſt ſtarve. We love money too well to lower our rents again; the income tax is taken off." One of his companions exclaims, "No, no, we won't have it at all." A third adds, "Ay, ay, let 'em ſtarve, and be d— to 'em." Upon this another of the foreign merchants cries, "By gar, if they will not have it at all, we muſt throw it overboard!" and a ſailor is carrying this alternative into execution by emptying a ſack into the ſea. Another group ſtands near the cloſed ſtorehouſe—it conſiſts of a poor Engliſhman, his wife with an infant in the arms, and two ragged children, a boy and a girl. The father is made to ſay, "No, no, maſters, I'll not ſtarve; but quit my native country, where the poor are cruſhed by thoſe they labour to ſupport, and retire to one more hoſpitable, and where the arts of the rich do not interpoſe to defeat the providence of God." The corn bill was paſſed in the ſpring of 1815, and was the cauſe of much popular agitation and rioting. The ſecond of theſe caricatures, on the ſame ſubject, is entitled, "The Scale of Juſtice reverſed," and repreſents the rich exulting over the diſappearance of the tax on property, while the poor are cruſhed under the weight of taxes which bore only upon them. Theſe two caricatures preſent unmiſtakable traces of the peculiarities of ſtyle of George Cruikſhank, but not as yet fully developed.

George Cruikſhank roſe into great celebrity and popularity as a political caricaturiſt by his illuſtrations to the pamphlets of William Hone, ſuch

ſuch as "The Political Houſe that Jack built," "The Political Showman at Home," and others upon the trial of queen Caroline; but this ſort of work ſuited the taſte of the public at that time, and not that of the artiſt, which lay in another direction. The ambition of George Cruikſhank was to draw what Hogarth called moral comedies, pictures of ſociety carried through a ſeries of acts and ſcenes, always pointed with ſome great moral; and it muſt be confeſſed that he has, through a long career, ſucceeded admirably. He poſſeſſes more of the true ſpirit of Hogarth than any other artiſt ſince Hogarth's time, with greater ſkill in drawing. He poſſeſſes, even to a greater degree than Hogarth himſelf, that admirable talent of filling a picture with an immenſe number of figures, every one telling a part of the ſtory, without which, however minute, the whole picture would ſeem to us incomplete. The picture of the "Camp at Vinegar Hill," and one or two other illuſtrations to Maxwell's "Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion in 1798," are equal, if not ſuperior, to anything ever produced by Hogarth or by Callot.

The name of George Cruikſhank forms a worthy concluſion to the "Hiſtory of Caricature and Groteſque." He is the laſt repreſentative of the great ſchool of caricaturiſts formed during the reign of George III. Though there can hardly be ſaid to be a ſchool at the preſent day, yet our modern artiſts in this field have been all formed more or leſs under his influence; and it muſt not be forgotten that we owe to that influence, and to his example, to a great degree, the cleanſing of this branch of art from the objectionable characteriſtics of which I have on more than one occaſion been obliged to ſpeak. May he ſtill live long among the friends who not only admire him for his talents, but love him for his kindly and genial ſpirit; and none among them love and admire him more ſincerely than the author of the preſent volume.

FINIS.

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